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Journal
of the
ILLINOIS STATE
HISTORICAL SOCIETY



A FAMILIAR OLD LANDMARK

SPRINGFIELD, ILLINOIS

MARCH 1912

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NOTES ON OLD CAHOKIA

BY CHARLES E. PETERSON

PART ONE

CAHOKIA, ILLINOIS, the first white man's settlement on the Mississippi River, has continued to exist. It was founded in 1699, the same year as Williamsburg, colonial capital of Virginia, and is a generation older than New Orleans. In May of this year the little village will celebrate its two hundred and fiftieth anniversary.

For the most part, the history of this ancient French settlement has remained obscure; the records available to the writer have permitted little more than a preliminary sketch.¹ A few special studies, limited in scope, have been published, but thor-

¹ This article was published originally in the *French American Review*, Vol. I, no. 3 (July-Sept., 1948), 184-225. By the kind permission of Dr. Gilbert Chinard and the *Institut Français de Washington* it is reprinted here with extensive additions, especially for the period after 1765. The writer has included numerous footnotes so that others may pick up the study and carry it forward. A publication of the St. Louis Historical Documents Foundation, under the general editorship of Professor John Francis McDermott, is now in preparation.

Tribute must be paid to the monumental works of Alvord, Carter, James, and Pease, which have been drawn upon freely. It appears to the writer that there is ample material on Cahokia alone for a good book-length history.

Special acknowledgement is due the Abbé Arthur Maheux, *Archiviste*, of the Seminary of Quebec, to Miss Rose Josephine Boylan, of East St. Louis, and to Miss Margaret C. Norton, Illinois State Archivist, for the privilege of examining the Perrin Collection.

Charles E. Peterson is regional architect for the National Park Service with headquarters in Richmond, Virginia. He is a student of American building construction and while investigating the architecture of early St. Louis became interested in the French in North America. This is the latest in a series of essays he has written on the physical development of villages of the Illinois country. Parts II and III of "Notes on Old Cahokia" will appear in the June and September issues of this Journal.

ough study of all surviving manuscripts, particularly those in Paris, Seville, Quebec, New Orleans, Philadelphia, Ann Arbor, Madison, Chicago, Springfield, and Chester, Illinois, is needed to complete our view of Cahokia's colorful past. Meanwhile, the rich farmlands which still define the village are disappearing before the industrial growth of metropolitan St. Louis, and it seems only a question of time before physical identity will be lost.

THE FOUNDING (1699)

Exactly when the first white men came to live in the Cahokia region will probably never be known. A tradition repeated by several writers a hundred years and more ago claimed that fur traders remained here with the Indians following La Salle's visit of 1682.² But these *coureurs de bois* were a transient lot of Canadians and left little or no record behind.

The formal establishment of the white man at Cahokia came in the spring of 1699 when a mission was consecrated by priests of the Seminary of Quebec. Official sanction had been given in the form of "letters patent" issued by Bishop St. Vallier on July 14, 1698. In that document a mission to the Tamaroa Indians was advocated as the logical base for reaching more distant nations on the Mississippi and Missouri rivers.³ The Tamaroa tribe, one of the Illinois ethnic group, lived on the rich bottomlands just below the junction of those rivers.

Preparations were soon undertaken for an expedition to the Illinois country, as this region was called, and less than six weeks later the party started from Quebec. Father François Jolliet de Montigny was in charge. With him were the Reverend Messrs. Jean François Buisson de St. Cosme, Antoine Davion, and Thaumur de la Source. In addition there were three

² E. g.: Amos Stoddard, *Sketches, Historical and Descriptive, of Louisiana* (Philadelphia, 1812), 233.

³ MS, Archives of the Seminary of Quebec (A.S.Q.). *Missions*, no. 54.

frères donnés and two blacksmiths with tools for building construction, all in three canoes. A memorandum of the time lists twelve *engagés* who left Montreal with the party, together with their pay, which was in cash and Indian trade goods.⁴ A fourth canoe belonged to M. de Vincennes, on his way to the Miami Indians. The party was guided by none other than Henry de Tonti, La Salle's trusted lieutenant, who was carrying merchandise to Fort St. Louis on the Illinois River and to the Arkansas post.⁵

After traveling the Great Lakes by way of Michilimackinac and Chicago and portaging to the Illinois and Mississippi rivers, the party set up camp early in December on the river near what is now the city of St. Louis. On the eighth of the month they were received by the Tamaroa Indians. "There would be enough for a rather fine mission," wrote Father St. Cosme, a few weeks after, "by bringing to it the Kaouchias [Cahokias], who live quite near, and the Mechigamias, who live a little lower down the Micissippi, and who are said to be pretty numerous."⁶ Presents were exchanged and friendly relations established. The priests then passed on down the river to survey the country as far as the Arkansas.

Within a few months, however, three of them were back with the Tamaroa Indians, and Father St. Cosme was left there as resident pastor. A lodging was put up by May 14, and the logs for a chapel cut and made ready for use. The latter was soon finished and, in dedication of the new mission, they "planted a cross with the greatest possible ceremony." All of the Indians in the area (some two thousand) were said to have been present. It was a great occasion, both then and in retrospect, for Cahokia was the first white man's settlement on the Mississippi River and now seems to have attained the distinc-

⁴ A. S. Q., *Missions* 107, no. 1.

⁵ Clarence W. Alvord, *The Illinois Country, 1673-1818* (Springfield, 1920), 109.

⁶ St. Cosme to ———, *Arkansas Country*, Jan. 2, 1699, quoted in Joseph J. Thompson, "The Cahokia Mission Property," *Illinois Catholic Historical Review*, Vol. 3, nos. 3-4 (Jan.-April, 1923), 210.

tion of being the oldest settlement in the entire valley.⁷

White traders from Canada had definitely settled in the region by the following year, when five canoes with furs arrived at Biloxi on the Gulf with nineteen men said to be married and living in Cahokia or on the Illinois River.⁸ About the same time, LeSueur's expedition met thirty of these *marchands voyageurs* on the Upper Mississippi.⁹ While trading for furs these earliest Frenchmen lived with the Indians on intimate terms and accompanied them as they moved about. But the missions tended to fix the locations of these tribes and there were soon to be several semi-permanent establishments in the rich bottomlands of the Illinois country.¹⁰

The first white man's buildings at Cahokia among the mat cabins of the Indians were the house of Father St. Cosme,¹¹ completed before May 14, 1699, and *la chapelle des Tamarois*, built by the workmen brought from Canada.¹² No descriptions have been found of these buildings. It is not unlikely that they were built of *poteaux en terre* or palisadoed construction, like most of the smaller buildings of the early Illinois country. The builders were probably the two blacksmiths brought along for the purpose.¹³

⁷ While La Salle's Forts Crèvecoeur (1680) and St. Louis (1682) on the Illinois River, the Post of the Arkansas (1686), and Fort Pimitoui (1691) were established a little earlier, they have not remained in continuous existence. The first Biloxi, also founded in May, 1699, was the first settlement of the new French colony on the Gulf Coast. It was later moved.

⁸ Alvord, *Illinois Country*, 128.

⁹ Pierre Margry, ed., *Découvertes et Établissements des Français dans l'Ouest et dans le Sud de l'Amérique Septentrionale* (Paris, 1875-1886), V: 408-409. The LeSueur expedition was welcomed at this village and spent seventeen days there. It lost four Frenchmen who wished to return to Canada but picked up five more in their place.

¹⁰ Cahokia's neighboring settlements on the east bank of the Mississippi—Kaskaskia (1703), Ste. Anne's (1719), St. Philippe (ca. 1723), and nearly all of Prairie du Rocher (1721)—have disappeared.

¹¹ Jean François Buisson de St. Cosme, born Pointe Levis, Quebec, Jan. 30, 1667, murdered by Indians on the lower Mississippi in 1707. John Gilmary Shea, *Early Voyages Up and Down the Mississippi* (Albany, 1861), 45. Gilbert J. Garraghan, "New Light on Old Cahokia," *Ill. Catb. Hist. Rev.*, Vol. XI (July-April, 1928-1929), 99, is the best single secondary work on the founding of Cahokia, especially for the controversy with the Jesuits.

¹² Edward J. Fortier, "The Establishment of the Tamarois Mission," *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society for the Year 1908* (Springfield, 1909), 236.

¹³ One of these was probably the Sieur Elie Simonville, *maitre forgeron*, mentioned in 1702 as "*habitant aud Lieu des Tamarois*." A.S.Q., *Missions*, no. 69. The founding expedition was an expensive one; it is said to have cost between 20,000 and 25,000 *livres* "to equip these missionaries, to pay and feed their canoemen and to subsist themselves for several years in that

The Jesuits, who had already been proselyting the Illinois Indians for twenty-five years, felt that their territory had been unjustly taken over by competitors. They soon afterward established a rival mission here, and, according to their own report, ministered to the Indians while Father Bergier, the Seminary's Vicar General at Cahokia, had "charge of the French only."¹⁴ The problem was resolved by a decision made in France in 1701. The original instructions were upheld,¹⁵ and the Jesuits moved on down the river in 1703 to found the village of Kaskaskia, which soon outgrew its older neighbor.¹⁶

Little is known of this period. Even the name of the place varies considerably in the record. At first anyone at Cahokia was simply "*aux Tamarois*"—in other words "with the Tamaroa Indians."¹⁷ Later the name "Caos" or "Kaokia" (of which there were numerous variants) was adopted. It was not until late in the eighteenth century that "Cahokia" began to be generally used in its standard modern form.

The French enjoyed good relations with most of the Indian nations but the terrors of war were soon visited on their Cahokia neighbors. Early in the summer of 1700 a war party of Sioux, coming down from the north, surprised a group of the

country." Unsigned "*Memoire sur l'établissement de la Missions des Tamarois de 1699 à 1724.*" A.S.Q., *Polygraph* 9, no. 26. The "*Relation de Pénicault*" mentions nothing about the mission buildings. Margry, *Découvertes et Etablissements*, V: 409. The first Illinois country church described (1711) is that of the Jesuits at Kaskaskia. It was "very large," had a belfry and a bell and three chapels. *Ibid.*, V: 491.

Some kind of Cahokia building project may have been in mind when, in 1705, the mission requested an anvil, two hammers, and a great assortment of nails, "the most rare and precious items here." A.S.Q., *Missions*, no. 105a.

¹⁴ Jacques Gravier to Jean de Lamberville, Fort Mississippi, Feb. 16, 1701, Reuben Gold Thwaites, ed., *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents* (Cleveland, 1900), LXV: 103. Alvord, *Illinois Country*, 118-19. The Jesuit Father Pinet seems to have remained at Cahokia until about 1702. Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, LXIV: 278.

¹⁵ J. H. Schlarman, *From Quebec to New Orleans* (Belleville, Ill., 1929), 149.

¹⁶ Natalia Marec Belting, *Kaskaskia Under the French Regime* (Urbana, 1948), 10.

¹⁷ Father Jean Bergier, writing to Quebec in February, 1700, explained the designation as follows: "The Tamarois and the Cahokias are the only ones that really form part of this mission. The Tamarois have about thirty cabins and the Cahokias have nearly twice that number. Although the Tamarois are at present less numerous than the Cahokias, the village is still called Tamaroa, gallicized 'Des Tamarois' because the Tamarois have been the first and are still the oldest inhabitants and have first lit a fire there, to use the Indian expression. All the other nations who have joined them afterwards have not caused the name of the village to change, but have been under the name Tamarois although they were not Tamarois." Edward Joseph Fortier, "Points in Illinois History," *Ill. Cath. Hist. Rev.*, Vol. V (July-April, 1922-1923), 149.

local tribesmen out picking strawberries. With typical ferocity they "cut off the neck of a slave belonging to a Frenchman; stabbed two women to death and scalped them; wounded a girl with a knife and crushed another under foot." The reprisal was no less barbaric when three Sioux stragglers were discovered and captured, killed, burned, and eaten.¹⁸ The next year many of the Indians moved across the Mississippi to join the Jesuits (then temporarily at the mouth of the Des Peres River) and there were left only sixty or seventy cabins of the Cahokia tribe. Fearfully conscious of their reduced strength, they soon set about putting up a palisaded fort for defense.¹⁹

Although none of the missionaries was martyred at Cahokia—and they were often enough in the West—a resentful minority opposed them. When Father Bergier died a few years later his passing was, for his opponents, "a cause of triumph. They gathered around the cross that he had erected, and there they invoked their *Manitou*,—each one dancing, and attributing to himself the glory of having killed the Missionary, after which they broke the cross into a thousand pieces."²⁰

Cahokia was in this period the most advanced outpost of civilization in the West²¹ and was well known to travelers on the rivers. But in its first two decades of settlement the Illinois country did not prosper greatly, support being discouraged by conflict in Europe as well as a local war with the Fox Indians. Restrictions on the fur trade promulgated by the governor of Canada also retarded for a time this prosperous commerce of the frontier.

LOUISIANA PERIOD (1718-1765)

At first Cahokia was considered to be under the government of Quebec represented at Fort St. Louis (or Pimitoui) on

¹⁸ Jean Bergier to ———, Tamarois, June 14, 1700. *Ill. Cath. Hist. Rev.*, Vol. V, p. 150.

¹⁹ Bergier to ———, April 13, 1701, *Ibid.*, 151.

²⁰ Pierre Gabriel Marest to Barthélemy Germon, Kaskaskia, Nov. 9, 1712, Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, LXVI: 263.

²¹ From here in Mar., 1702, a small expedition left to ascend the Missouri River and build a fort two hundred leagues above its mouth. Gilbert J. Garraghan, "The Emergence of the Missouri Valley into History," *Ill. Cath. Hist. Rev.*, Vol. IX (April, 1927), 315.

the Illinois River. In 1717, however, the whole Illinois country was reallocated to the administration of Louisiana,²² and a district command under the new Company of the Indies was shortly afterward established at Fort de Chartres, some miles below Cahokia and near Kaskaskia.²³

Until the complete defeat of the Fox Indians in 1730 there are few evidences of material progress at Cahokia, which was the most exposed of the villages on the Mississippi. Early visitors have given us but few details. Father Charlevoix, on his way from Canada to New Orleans, in the spring of 1721 visited here and spent a night in the house of missionaries. He did not describe the village, although he remarked about its location:

The *Caoquias* and the *Tamarouas* . . . do not together make a very numerous Village. It is situated on a little River, which comes from the East, and which has no Water but in the Spring Season; so that we were forced to walk a good half League to the Cabins. I was surprised that they had chosen such an inconvenient Situation, as they might have found a much better; but they told me that the *Mississippi* washed the Foot of the Village when it was built, and that in three Years it had lost half a League of Ground, and that they were thinking of looking out for another Settlement.²⁴

On June 22, 1722, the commandant at Fort de Chartres gave the Cahokia mission a large grant of land—four leagues (twelve miles) square—beginning above the village and extending down along the river twelve miles and including the adjacent islands. It included two large open grasslands—the Cahokia Prairie and the Prairie du Pont. This concession seems to have been considered as a *seigneurie* or feudal estate along the lines of those established in Canada, some of which were

²² Ordinance dated Sept. 27 or Oct. 4, 1717, Alvord, *Illinois Country*, 151. (*Paris, Archives Nationales, Colonies*, B, 39: 457.)

²³ Pierre Duqué de Boisbriand, the first commandant, set out from Mobile in 1718 and arrived in the Illinois country in December. His headquarters, the first Fort de Chartres, was completed in 1720. Alvord, *Illinois Country*, 153. Schlarman, *Quebec to New Orleans*, 193. In 1731, the Company of the Indies admitted the failure of its project in America and gave up Louisiana, which then became a royal province.

²⁴ P. F. X. de Charlevoix, *Letters to the Dutchess of Lesdiguières* (London, 1763), 291.

owned by religious orders.²⁵ Land being cheap and plentiful, however, it is doubtful that any of the *habitants* of Cahokia ever submitted to the forms of serfdom which had been so long borne by the peasantry of France. No mission record books have been preserved to show whether or not rents and taxes were ever paid to the proprietors.

A census made by M. Diron in June, 1723, lists seven *habitants*, one *volontaire*, one woman and three children as living at Cahokia—a total of twelve as against 196 at Kaskaskia and 126 at the Fort de Chartres and at the lead mines on the Maramec River.²⁶ In that year the Fort d'Orleans was established on the Missouri River by a detachment under Bourgmond, and Father Mercier of Cahokia served as its *aumônier*. This outpost, originally designed to thwart Spanish intrusion from Mexico, was in the few years of its existence a protection to traders among the western Indians.

A census of 1732, oddly enough, lists no white men, women, or children at Cahokia. The mission was evidently staffed, however, for there were four Negroes and five Indian slaves listed. Two houses, one barn, ten horses, three oxen, seven cows, and thirty hogs comprised the temporal wealth of the little outpost.²⁷ The population seems not to have begun its real growth before this time. Father Mercier, on May 25, 1732, mentioned that a water mill built by the mission had been completed and operating for more than a month and that he had had the walnut timbers hewn for a house to be raised in July.²⁸ He also thought that it was "time to think of building a large

²⁵ Schlarman, *Quebec to New Orleans*, 279. A collated copy of 1735 is preserved as A. S. Q., *Polygraph* 9, no. 13. Two other prairies in this area are mentioned in 1790: the Prairie of the "Brise Culote" (Broken Cap) and the Prairie of the "Gross Liard" (Big Cottonwood Tree). Clarence Edwin Carter, ed., *The Territorial Papers of the United States* (Washington, 1934), II: 265.

²⁶ Paris, *Archives Nationales, Colonies C13A*, 8: 226.

²⁷ Belting, *Kaskaskia Under the French*, 38.

²⁸ On this house two porches were to run down its long sides "not for the beauty of the building, but for the preservation of the sills, which will last half as long again." As one gable he planned to place an extension for a milk house ("laiterie") and as the other a dispensary ("dépense"). Schlarman, *Quebec to New Orleans*, 288. In August Mercier wrote that his brother Joseph had been at Cahokia for several days and that he would make the iron-work for the house. A.S.Q., *Missions*, no. 43.

church.”²⁹ A small scale map of the Illinois country made by the engineer-architect Ignace François Broutin and dated 1734 represents Cahokia as a village of seven or eight Frenchmen with a settlement of 130 Indians just above it.³⁰

The only known eighteenth century plan of Cahokia³¹ is a rather crude sketch of questionable scale sent to Quebec in 1735. Entitled “*Plan de la Seigneurie et Etablissement de la Mission des Tamarois*,” it gives the earliest comprehensive description of the settlement.

The village proper fronted on a narrow channel of the Mississippi (divided at that point) and between two small streams—the *petite rivière des Koakias* and the *rivière du pont*.³² In the middle, on the river’s bank, was the mission establishment. Within a rectangular enclosure—probably a stockade—is shown the missionaries’ house, a projected bakehouse, two houses for Negro slaves and one for Indians, a court, a well, a latrine, and a garden. Immediately outside of the enclosure was the church,³³ a shed, a stable, and a barn. North of the church were the houses of nine *habitants* identified by name.³⁴

The evolution of the village plan as a whole is obscure. The river channel which it faced was called “*le Rigolet*” and a street—“*la rue du Rigolet*”—ran along it.³⁵ This stream was

²⁹ Perhaps this was the church built in the Cahokia Indian village about 1735.

³⁰ Natalia Marec Belting, “The French Villages of the Illinois Country,” *Canadian Historical Review*, Vol. XXIV, no. 1 (March, 1943), 15.

³¹ Governor St. Clair, who had found no map of Cahokia lands had one made about 1790, but this seems to have been lost. Arthur St. Clair to Secretary of State, Feb. 10, 1791. Carter, *Territorial Papers*, II: 326. A map by Wm. Rector, dated May 23, 1808, appears as a copperplate engraving in the *American State Papers, Public Lands* (Washington, 1834), II: 194. It shows the main divisions of land but not the village layout.

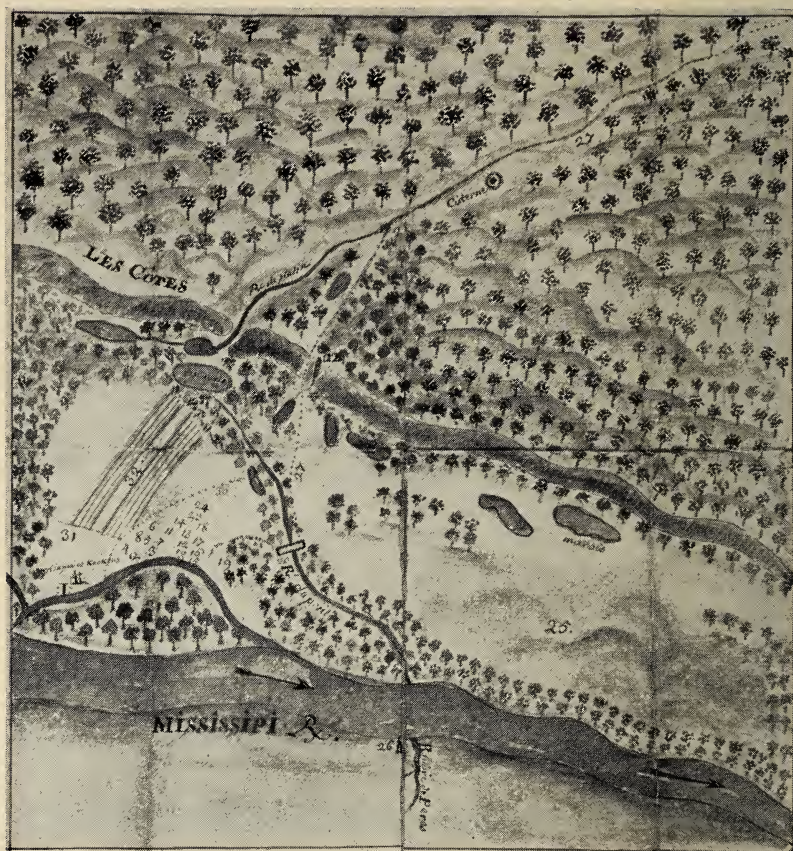
³² A site a mile or so below the village of 1735 is labeled “*dernier Etablissement Français abandon[é]*” indicating that the village had been moved upstream at an earlier date as suggested by Charlevoix’ account.

³³ A fragment of a census for 1732 gave the Cahokia mission four Negro and eight Indian slaves. Margaret C. Norton, *Illinois Census Returns (Illinois Historical Collections, XXIV, Springfield, 1935)*, xxiii.

The only information given about the church is that it was thirty-seven *pieds* long (about forty English feet). The group seems to have suffered a bad fire in 1739 but the extent of the damage is not known. Laurens to ———, Cahokia, June, 1756. A.S.Q., *Missions*, no. 26.

³⁴ These were Louis Gault, Blondin, Robillard, La Source, Rocet, François Mercier, Abraham, Pichard, and Pitre.

³⁵ Pierre François DeVolsay to Louis St. Ange, 1766 (MS, Schmidt Collection, Chicago Historical Society).



PLAN OF CAHOKIA IN 1735

This ink and watercolor map, which is evidently a copy contemporary with one at the Seminary of Quebec, is preserved in the archives of the Bishop of Belleville. It was drawn by two missionaries, J. P. Mercier and J. Courier, whose letter accompanying it said: "As to the map, which we have the honor to send to you, we made it the best we could; it is sufficiently correct as to distance from one place to another. . . it can always give you an idea of the location of our seigniory of the Tamaroas." (J. H. Schlarman, *From Quebec to New Orleans*, 284). Their letter is dated April 12, 1735. Although it is not shown here, the original map contains a small insert at the upper left which is a detailed layout of

the mission buildings. Along the right-hand side of the map is the numbered guide which follows (along with a translation):

*ORIGINAL**TRANSLATION*

PLAN DE LA SEIGNEURIE ET
ETABLISSEMENT DE LA MIS-
SION DES TAMAROIS

PLAN OF THE SEIGNIORY AND
ESTABLISHMENT OF THE MIS-
SION OF THE TAMAROAS

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. Village Sauvage des Kaokias | Cahokia Indian village |
| 2. Maison de Louis gault habitant | House of Louis Gault, citizen |
| 3. Maison de Blondin.h | House of Blondin, citizen |
| 4. Maison de Robillard.h | House of Robillard, citizen |
| 5. Maison de la Source.h | House of La Source, citizen |
| 6. grange de la Mission | Barn of the mission |
| 7. hangard et Ecurie | Shed and stable |
| 8. Maison de Rocet.h | House of Rocet, citizen |
| 9. L'Eglise | The church |
| 10. Maison de la famille indienne a la mission | House of the Indian family of the mission |
| 11. Maison des missionnaires | House of the missionaries |
| 12. une maison de deux familles negres a la mission | A house of two Negro families of the mission |
| 13. autre maison de quatre negres a la mission | Another house of four Negroes of the mission |
| 14. Maison de francois Mercier.h | House of François Mercier, citizen |
| 15. Le fort du Roy | The fort of the King |
| 16. Maison de abraham | House of Abraham |
| 17. Maison de Pichard.h | House of Pichard, citizen |
| 18. Maison de pitre | House of Pitre |
| 19. Maison de Mr. de moncher-veaux hors le fort | House of Mr. de Moncherveaux outside of the fort |
| 20. Le pont | The bridge |
| 21. Lisle de la Ste. famille | The Island of the Holy Family |
| 22. le moulin de la Côte de St. Michel | The mill of St. Michael's Bluff [Falling Springs] |
| 23. Maison de jean missuiy [?] | House of John Missuiy [?] |
| 24. grange de francois mercier | Barn of François Mercier |
| 25. prairie des buttes | Prairie of the [Indian] mounds |
| 26. ancien village des Kaskakias | Former village of the Kaskaskias |
| 27. Chemin des Kaokias au fort de Chartres | Road from Cahokia to Fort de Chartres |
| 28. Source de la Riviere | Source of the river |
| 29. dernier Etablissement francais abandonne | Former establishment of the French, abandoned |
| 30. cloture de la Commune | Enclosure of the Commons |
| 31. Terrain occupé par les Kaokias | Land occupied by the Cahokias |
| 32. Domaine | Domain [the common fields] |

navigable for two miles above the village and provided a "safe and convenient harbour for Boats."³⁶ The missionaries gave out free building lots called *terreins* or *emplacements* to anyone who wished to settle here³⁷ and these made a long and straggling row facing the water.³⁸ None of the Illinois country villages in the French period seems to have been plotted in advance, and the commandant at Fort de Chartres had written to the Governor at New Orleans:

It would be absolutely necessary, Messieurs, that you should give your orders that all the villages built and to be built should be aligned in sixty foot squares, so that the places may be walled as is done in Detroit and elsewhere in Canada as a protection against Indian raids. We wish to take no responsibility for what has already been established, which is very irregular.³⁹

In general, however, these settlements were relatively compact. Farmers lived in the villages alongside the traders and artisans, and scattered farmhouses were rare. This policy was followed not only for protection but for sociability and for convenience to the church.⁴⁰

Below the church was the "*fort du Roy*" and near it the house of Ensign Montchervaux, the commandant. Historically, the forts at Cahokia had the fugitive qualities of most frontier works of defense. Undoubtedly through the years there were several entirely different structures, each of palisadoes (called "*pieux*" by the French) which under ordinary conditions were very short-lived. One famous early French-Canadian military engineer said of them, "In peace time such forts are not built in the colony because they rot quickly and are useless by the time war is declared."⁴¹ In the Illinois country these fort structures

³⁶ Arthur St. Clair to Secretary of State, Feb. 10, 1791, Carter, *Territorial Papers*, II: 326.

³⁷ Mercier to Pierre Rigaud de Vaudreuil, April 20, 1743. A.S.Q., *Missions*, no. 28.

³⁸ Captain Philip Pittman, *The Present State of the European Settlements on the Mississippi* (Cleveland, 1906), 92.

³⁹ Macarty and Joseph Buchet to Pierre Rigaud de Vaudreuil, Illinois, Jan. 15, 1752. Theodore Calvin Pease and Ernestine Jenison, eds., *Illinois on the Eve of the Seven Years' War, 1747-1755* (*Illinois Historical Collections*, XXIX, Springfield, 1940), 427.

⁴⁰ John Reynolds, *The Pioneer History of Illinois* (Belleville, Ill., 1852), 100.

⁴¹ Pierre-Georges Roy, ed., *Inventaire des Papiers de Lery* (Quebec, 1939), I: 64.

were maintained by contributions of palisadoes furnished regularly by both *habitants* and *voyageurs*.⁴²

The first Cahokia fort, as mentioned above, was the one under construction by the Indians in 1700. Another, built by the French, and under the command of St. Ange in 1723 with a garrison of four soldiers, was described as "a wretched fort of piles."⁴³ In 1732 Father Mercier was urging construction of still another fort here,⁴⁴ probably the one indicated on the missionary map.⁴⁵ In their time the Cahokia forts had minor military importance, being maintained only as listening posts for Indian affairs, to keep order among the whites,⁴⁶ and as a militia headquarters. Captain Pittman wrote, "A fort here would be of very little consequence as it could neither annoy an enemy or protect the inhabitants."⁴⁷

The missionaries and one François Mercier had barns in the rear of the village, which was set off from the hinterlands by the commons fence (*Clôture de la Commune*). The domestic animals had the full run of the large triangular commons thus enclosed as well as the village streets.⁴⁸

⁴² The commandant ordered the Illinois posts maintained by this method about 1752. Pierre Rigaud de Vaudreuil to Macarty, April 25, 1752. Pease and Jenison, *Illinois on the Eve*, 603. At Fort de Chartres, a four-sided work, a quantity of palisadoes sufficient to replace one side (or curtain) each year was commandeered of the *habitants* and *voyageurs*. *Ibid.*, 442.

⁴³ Newton D. Mereness, ed., *Travels in the American Colonies* (New York, 1916), 71, 80.

⁴⁴ Mericer to ———, Dec. 16, 1732. A.S.Q., *Missions*, no. 42. He recommended a garrison of at least twenty-four men.

⁴⁵ The fort was built about 1734 and garrisoned by twenty men. Alvord, *Illinois Country*, 174.

⁴⁶ Pierre Rigaud de Vaudreuil to Antoine-Louis Rouillé, May 15, 1751, Pease and Jenison, *Illinois on the Eve*, 262. Ten men were approved for this post under M. de Vossé in 1752. *Ibid.*, 467, 601.

⁴⁷ Philip Pittman to Thomas Gage, Feb. 24, 1766, Gage Papers (MSS in the William L. Clements Library, Ann Arbor).

One account, of unknown origin and doubtful reliability, states that "Cahokia was fortified—as nearly as we can now ascertain—after the defeat of D'Artaquette by the Chickasaws, between the years 1736 and 1740, and while Chevalier De la Boissonnier was commandant of the Illinois at Fort Chartres. A log fort was built in the center of the settlement, across the road from the church, and the whole village was enclosed by a stockade of sharpened pickets twelve feet high having a gate at the west and one at the east." J. F. Snyder, *Belle-ville Weekly Advocate*, July 31, 1908.

⁴⁸ In an unsigned letter or memoir written about 1720 it is stated that the "*Isle de la Ste. Famille*" had been determined upon for a commons "to prevent the cattle from harming the dwellings which may be put up later." *Ill. Cath. Hist. Rev.*, Vol. V, no. 2 (Oct., 1922), 152. A.S.Q., *Polygraph* 9, no. 16.

The function of the village commons was early described at Kaskaskia as an area for the pasturage of cattle, horses, and hogs, and as a place "to procure and draw therefrom mill-

Beyond the fence, a mile or more upstream, were the Cahokia Indians. The missionaries found themselves in a difficult position as spiritual mentors of both the French and the Indian settlements, for the two races *en famille* did not get along well at too close range, especially when brandy was flowing freely. The French wanted the Indians farther away from the village, but the Cahokias, debauched by their contact with the whites and fearing their ancient enemies, refused to move far from the protection of the little fort. A separate church was finally built for them.⁴⁹

The development of the Cahokia plowlands can be followed in part. The ground was fertile and did not even have to be cleared of trees.⁵⁰ A peculiar "strip farm" layout—similar to those along the rivers of Canada—seems to have been contemplated as early as 1731 when the missionaries purchased from the Indians an area of land of thirty *arpents* frontage above their original grant.⁵¹ This was laid out in tracts three *arpents* wide starting at the commons fence. By 1735 the first three tracts (nine *arpents* in all, starting at the commons fence) had been allotted to various parties. The mission kept the next two strips (six *arpents*) and beyond this were three more partly in cultivation by others. Progress is evident, for in 1732 there were 3,500 bundles of wheat harvested.⁵² The crops of the Illi-

stones, stone to build with and make lime thereof, and timber suitable for . . . building." Sidney Breese, *The Early History of Illinois*, (Chicago, 1884), 289. The Cahokia commons was defined by the *habitants* in 1790 as "land on which to support their cattle" and for getting "wood not only for building but for fuel." *American State Papers, Public Lands*, I: 20,

⁴⁹ Alvord, *Illinois Country*, 200. In a letter of May 21, 1735, Father Mercier requested the Seminary to furnish proper equipment for "our new church at the Indian village." Among the items asked for were some fine cloth (*belle Etoffe*) to furnish the retable, a crucifix, six candlesticks, six bouquets of artificial flowers in pots, a cross to serve in processions and at burials, a little banner with a picture of the Holy Family painted on it, a statue of the Holy Virgin, some packets of candles, etc., A.S.Q., *Polygraph* 9, no. 15. A list of tools and other items sent from Quebec to the Cahokia mission in 1737-1739 appears in A.S.Q., *Missions*, no. 106.

⁵⁰ A memoir of about 1720 stated that "the soil of the Cahokia is very easy to cultivate, being at least two feet deep where it is found to be black, fertile and light." The main prairie at the village was two leagues long by three quarters wide and was believed capable of servicing 150 workmen. *Ill. Cath. Hist. Rev.*, Vol. V, no. 2 (Oct., 1922), 152. A.S.Q., *Polygraph* 9, no. 16.

⁵¹ Mercier to Vaudreuil, April 20, 1743, A.S.Q., *Missions*, no. 28. The arpent or "Paris Acre" was a square, 180 feet (old French) or 192½ feet (English measurement) on each side.

⁵² It was thought that wheat thrived better here than at Kaskaskia "owing probably

nois country were convoyed down the river to New Orleans and were an important factor in supporting life on the Gulf Coast.⁵³ "These interior settlements," wrote Thwaites, "were long regarded as the garden of New France."⁵⁴

The Indian occupation of the river bank interfered with the completion of these fields, which, the farmers insisted, should run without interruption from the river to the bluffs "in the same manner as it was granted by all the concessioners or seigniors to all the *habitants* of Illinois," referring to Kaskaskia and the other villages below.⁵⁵ This was eventually accomplished, and the peculiar pattern of these farms, known as "the commonfields," can be traced even today. Some of the strips less than 200 feet wide were over a mile long.

The road south passed over a small bridge, which gave the name to the "*rivière du pont*." As this road turned and climbed the bluffs it passed the mission watermill at the *Côte de St. Michel* (at what is now called "Falling Springs") and went southward across the rolling plateau toward Fort de Chartres.⁵⁶

The missionaries made every effort to create a stable com-

to its being more Northerly by almost a Degree." Clarence W. Alvord and Clarence Edwin Carter, *The New Regime* (Illinois Historical Collections, XI, Springfield, 1916), 299. See also, Sister Mary Borgias, "The First Illinois Wheat," *Mid-America*, Vol. XIII, no. 1 (July, 1930), 72, 73.

⁵³ Norman W. Caldwell, *The French in the Mississippi Valley, 1740-1750* (Urbana, 1941), 27, 41, 42.

⁵⁴ Reuben Gold Thwaites, *France in America, 1497-1763* (New York, 1905), 86.

⁵⁵ The Kaskaskia land pattern seems to have been arranged, after some difficulties, by Boisbriant about 1727. See petition of the inhabitants of Kaskaskia, Feb. 9, 1727, Breese, *Early History*, 286-89. No official surveyor had as yet come to the district, but one was at that time hoped for in order that the pattern of real estate might be permanently fixed.

In 1790 all the fields of Cahokia and Prairie du Pont were described as running clear to the bluffs from either the river or the Rigolet. Their long narrow dimensions tended to insure an equitable distribution of good land among the proprietors, so that each got a share of slough (which was worthless), of woods (which would have to be cleared), and of prairie (which needed only to be plowed). Carter, *Territorial Papers*, II: 242, 263-73.

⁵⁶ A translation of this excellent description appears in Schlarmann, *Quebec to New Orleans*, 279-90. The original text, together with the maps, is preserved in A.S.Q. No reference to its construction has been found.

The development of mills at Cahokia is somewhat obscure to the writer. On April 20, 1743, Father Mercier wrote to Vaudreuil that a water mill costing 4,000 francs had been built. Shortage of water then caused him to build a windmill (1,000 *écus*). A millwright was engaged for the windmill at a cost of 4,000 *livres* of flour. (A.S.Q., *Missions*, no. 28.) A letter by Father Laurens in 1756 discusses mills but is nearly illegible. (A.S.Q., *Missions*, no. 26.) Captain Pittman, in 1766, wrote that there were "two watermills one for Planks and one for corn belonging to the said Mission, but owing to the ignorance of the undertaker in making the Dams they cannot be made use of." Pittman to Gage, Feb. 24, 1766, Gage Papers.

munity, but it was admitted that the *habitants* "take land today and leave it tomorrow." The adventurous life of the itinerant fur trader lured many of the most enterprising men away from these settlements.⁵⁷

Macarty's census of 1752, preserved among the *Loudoun Papers*, lists the households of Cahokia in some detail. There were the priest of the mission, 13 married couples with 42 children, four unmarried men, one widow, and 15 *volontaires*.⁵⁸ Racially the community had 89 whites, 24 Negroes, and 23 Indians. The most extensive property was that of the mission: 19 Negroes, four Indians (presumably slaves), 75 head of cattle, 19 horses and mules, and 20 hogs. The agricultural resources of the village were listed as 33 *arpents* of land, 224 head of cattle, 83 horses and mules, and 100 hogs. Boys above the age of twelve were considered as capable of bearing arms, increasing the total to 21 potential citizen soldiers. For the defense of the village they had 29 *fusils*,⁵⁹ 67 *livres* of powder, and 68 of lead and ball.⁶⁰

While the white population was thus growing, the local Indians in the same year met another of those calamities which eventually wiped them out. The event is narrated by Captain Bossu of the French marines, who spent several years in this region and described it in a little volume of travels published in Paris. On June 6, the Foxes and their allies, in a force estimated at one thousand, paddled down from the north and surprised the Illinois tribes while most of the Cahokia French were down at St. Anne's village witnessing a Corpus Christi celebration. A great number of Indians were killed and their cabins burned.

⁵⁷ "Mais la passion de la chasse et de la traite, qui, là, ainsi que dans presque toutes les autres parties de l'Amérique Septentrionale, a de tout fait languir les établissemens français, et négliger le point essentiel, celui de la culture." Berquin-Duvallon, ed., *Vue de la Colonie Espagnole de Mississipi* (Paris, 1803), 61.

⁵⁸ A precise definition of the term *volontaire* is not known. The reference is to some kind of resident who did not own land and was, perhaps, an indentured servant or contract employee.

⁵⁹ According to Dr. Thomas Hoopes, St. Louis expert on antique firearms, these would have been long arms of the flintlock type, either rifled or smooth bore.

⁶⁰ Loudoun Papers, 426: 6, 7. From a transcription, courtesy Drs. Pease and Belting, Urbana. (Original at the Huntington Library, San Marino, Calif.)

The French village was spared, and as the attackers paddled back upstream, with their prisoners bound at their feet, they fired a salute to the Cahokia fort.⁶¹

The 1750's saw the last of the great frontier struggle between the English and the French for domination of the Mississippi Valley. In the Illinois country the war was marked by the construction of the great stone Fort de Chartres and measures for the support of Fort Duquesne at the forks of the Ohio on what is now the point of Pittsburgh's "Golden Triangle." In 1754 George Washington at Fort Necessity surrendered to the French, and General Braddock was killed in the same region the next year. But after the fall of Quebec the war was lost and defeat cost France her colonial empire in America.

In spite of the general preoccupation with war, the Cahokia mission in these years was much further developed by Father Forget du Verger, the last Vicar-General at Cahokia under the French regime. This handsome property, the most considerable in the settlement, had:

One house . . . of stone consisting of several rooms and several other buildings, that is, barn, horse-stable, stables, sheds, mill, and in general, all the buildings belonging to that said house, as also the land belonging to it. divided in court, garden, orchard planted with fruit trees, the which land measuring about three hundred fifty feet in width by nine hundred in length, all being situated in the Holy Family of the Kaokias.⁶²

In addition there was a grist and sawmill on the "little Kaokia river" and four *arpents* of land as well as thirty slaves and two or three hundred domestic animals.⁶³ But the mission was now at an end, as events soon proved.

BRITISH OCCUPATION (1765-1776)

Violent changes marked the few years—less than thirteen—in which the English dominated the eastern part of the Illi-

⁶¹ Jean Bernard Bossu, *Travels Through That Part of North America Formerly Called Louisiana* (London, 1771), I: 129-34.

⁶² Schlarman, *Quebec to New Orleans*, 367; A.S.Q., *Missions*, no. 25.

⁶³ Pierre Gibault to Jean Olivier Briand, Oct., 1767, in Clarence W. Alvord and Clarence Edwin Carter, *Trade and Politics* (*Illinois Historical Collections*, XVI, Springfield, 1921), 616.

nois country. Cahokia and her neighbors had avoided the major disasters of the French and Indian War, but in 1763 all of the land east of the Mississippi was ceded to England, and British troops finally relieved the garrison at Fort de Chartres in October, 1765. Before the month was up an officer appeared at Cahokia to demand of the *habitants* oaths of allegiance to the government of George III.⁶⁴

In the excitement of the times Father du Verger sold the whole Cahokia mission property even before the roof was finished on his new house.⁶⁵ Father Meurin wrote later that du Verger "having been falsely persuaded by the French commandant that the English were going to annoy the priests and the inhabitants and take their goods, had sold everything for a song, in order to take with him what he could, rather than leave it to the English."⁶⁶ This fine property went first to one Lagrange, who died insolvent soon afterward. He had, however, already lost it at cards to one Jautard, who fled the country. These disgraceful proceedings reflect the confusion and uncertainty which marked the change of sovereignty.

When the news of the sale reached Quebec steps were taken to salvage this property, on which the Seminary estimated it had spent better than forty thousand *livres*. To this end Father Pierre Gibault was designated "*Procureur Général et Spécial*" on May 8, 1768, and sent to the Illinois country.⁶⁷ In a report made the following year he sent back a very gloomy picture:

That mission formerly so flourishing is nothing any more—not a slave; the mills are in ruins, the milldams have been carried away by the waters, the barns have fallen, the orchard for lack of a fence has been destroyed by animals, which have eaten the bark off the trees clear to the

⁶⁴ Clarence Edwin Carter, *Great Britain and the Illinois Country, 1763-1774* (Washington, 1910), 49.

⁶⁵ Sébastien Louis Meurin to Boiret, Kaskaskia, June 11, 1768, in Alvord and Carter, *Trade and Politics*, 311, 313.

⁶⁶ Alvord and Carter, *Trade and Politics*, 311. It was sold Nov. 5, 1763 for 12,500 *livres*. The transfer was made over the protests of the villagers, who were concerned about the need for a house by the Rev. Luc Collt who was staying on. The church itself does not seem to have been sold. Schlarman, *Quebec to New Orleans*, 366-70. The legal aspects of the sale by Forget were argued for years afterwards.

⁶⁷ St. Clair County Records, Book of Deeds, B, 372. (MSS, St. Clair County Courthouse, Belleville, Ill.)

sap—in a word, only the four walls of the house are left, for the roof and the floors are not worth anything. Furthermore, the colonel never would permit me to rent it, giving as his reason that he was keeping it to make a barracks.⁶⁸

Gibault liked the situation so little that he went on down to Kaskaskia to live.⁶⁹

The founding of St. Louis, in February of 1764, was the real turning point of Cahokia's career. Captain Bossu had called Cahokia "the center of commerce of *New France*, or *Louisiana*, which is considerable in furs."⁷⁰ But St. Louis was to take its place. The new establishment was located on the opposite bank just a few miles above, and under the able and energetic leadership of Pierre Laclède it soon became the metropolis of the Upper Valley.

Laclède's party arrived from New Orleans late in 1763, and spent the winter at Fort de Chartres. To get settlers for St. Louis, Laclède and Neyon de Villiers, the commandant, conspired to empty the French villages on the east bank, in spite of the British efforts to preserve them. Some of the *habitants* went down the river to New Orleans, many others crossed the river to Ste. Genevieve and St. Louis. As one British officer complained:

The French have many Agents here, that are constantly Employed in putting the worst and most foreign Constructions, on every Transaction, in order to prejudice the minds of the few Inhabitants, that remains here against the English Government, and to induce them to leave their Settlements, and go over to the other Side of the River, to the new Settlements they are forming there. The great attention they give to this new Colony, appears very Extraordinary . . .

There is many houses with Lands belonging to them, abandoned by the French, who went off without paying any regard to an order Captain Stirling Published here.⁷¹

⁶⁸ Pierre Gibault to Jean Olivier Briand, Oct., 1769, in Alvord and Carter, *Trade and Politics*, 614-15.

⁶⁹ John Gilmary Shea, *Life and Times of the Most Rev. John Carroll* (New York, 1888), 125.

⁷⁰ Bossu, *Travels Through . . . Louisiana*, I: 159. According to John Reynolds, Cahokia surpassed Kaskaskia in the Indian trade. Reynolds, *Pioneer History*, 34.

⁷¹ Robert Farmar to Thomas Gage, Dec. 16-19, 1765, in Alvord and Carter, *New Regime*, 134.

Many cattle and much grain were carried across the river at night. The British did not have enough troops to police the ferries. Even parts of houses were carried away. "If the gentlest methods are not used with those that Stay," wrote Captain Stirling, "we shall lose them too."⁷² Émigrés from Cahokia made up a large part of St. Louis and Prairie à Catalan (later Carondelet) and even some of the Indians went along.⁷³

Among the reasons for the exodus was the fear of Indians, who were rising against the British throughout the West in what is now called "Pontiac's Conspiracy." Hostile tribes along the Mississippi had been able to delay the British Army's entering the Illinois country for over a year and a half. A great council was held at Fort de Chartres in the late summer of 1766, and many presents were distributed, but that quieted the tribes for only a short interval.⁷⁴

A celebrated event of this period was the assassination of Pontiac at Cahokia on April 20, 1769. The famous Ottawa chief had come down the Mississippi "to trade and talk and drink." On that day, as he left a store in the village where he had been trading, he was beaten and stabbed to death by one of the local Peoria Indians.⁷⁵

In the autumn Cahokia was alarmed when a band of Missouri Indians and nineteen canoes of the Sauk and Fox tribes were reported coming to the place.⁷⁶ That such warnings were not all idle threats was proved the following year when three white men were killed there by Indians in disguise. The village stood at arms and a detachment was sent up from Fort de Chartres to assist in its defense.⁷⁷

⁷² Thomas Stirling to Thomas Gage, Dec. 15, 1765, in Alvord and Carter, *New Regime*, 125.

⁷³ One account of the establishment of St. Louis may be found in Charles E. Peterson, "Colonial St. Louis: Part I," *Bulletin of the Missouri Historical Society*, Vol. III, no. 3 (April, 1947), 94-111.

⁷⁴ Carter, *Great Britain*, 53, 59, 60.

⁷⁵ For the latest version of this event see Howard H. Peckham, *Pontiac and the Indian Uprising* (Princeton, 1947), 309-18.

⁷⁶ Clarence Edwin Carter, *The Correspondence of General Thomas Gage* (New Haven, 1931), I: 239.

⁷⁷ Gage to Hillsborough, New York, Aug. 18, 1770. *Ibid.* I: 266. The old French

In spite of such troubles Cahokia continued to exist. Of it Captain Henry Gordon noted on August 31, 1766, "Here are 43 Families of French who live well, & so might three Times the number as there is a great Quantity of arable clear Land of the best Soil near it. There is likewise 20 Cabbins of Peioria Indians left here."⁷⁸ Captain Philip Pittman, a British engineer at Fort de Chartres, also described Cahokia at this time:

The village . . . is long and straggling, being three quarters of a mile from one end to the other; it contains forty-five dwelling-houses, and a church near its center. The situation is not well chosen, as in the floods it is generally overflowed two or three feet. . . . The inhabitants of this place depend more on hunting, and their Indian trade, than on agriculture, as they scarcely raise corn enough for their own consumption: they have a great deal of poultry and good stocks of horned cattle. . . . What is called the fort is a small house standing in the center of the village; it differs in nothing from the other houses except in being one of the poorest; it was formerly enclosed with high pallisades, but these were torn down and burnt. Indeed a fort at this place could be of but little use.⁷⁹

To the British and the Americans the opportunities of seizing the old French fur trade at first seemed very bright. Eastern newspapers advised the traders of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia to hurry. "They cannot be too early in building their craft at Fort Pitt," urged the *Virginia Gazette*, "indeed, the adventurers of next year have no time to lose."⁸⁰ There was a general rush to the West. Philadelphia traders seem to have been prominent among those who came.⁸¹ But as it turned out the results were disappointing. Trade with the Indians was

militia was reformed for defense against the Indians. Carter, *Great Britain*, 62. The *Virginia Gazette* (April 23, 1772) carried a letter with a Kaskaskia dateline (Jan. 17, 1772) summarizing troubles with the Kickapoos: "Since we have had Possession of the Illinois Country, the above Nation of Indians, with their Adherents, have taken seven English Men and one Woman Prisoners, scalped one soldier of the 18th Regiment alive, killed and scalped upwards of thirty Englishmen from the Age of eighteen to thirty Years, and robbed English Merchants Boats and Stores to the Value of Ten Thousand Pounds."

⁷⁸ Alvord and Carter, *New Regime*, 299. A census of Cahokia in 1767 showed that it then had sixty families. *Ibid.*, 469. Thomas Hutchins, here shortly afterward, reported "50 houses, many of them well built, and 300 inhabitants, possessing 80 Negroes, and large stocks of black Cattle, Swine &c." Thomas Hutchins, *A Topographical Description of Virginia, Pennsylvania, Maryland and North Carolina* (Cleveland, 1904), 109.

⁷⁹ Pittman, *The Present State of European Settlements*, 92.

⁸⁰ *Virginia Gazette*, Mar. 7, 1766.

⁸¹ Notably Franks and Company and Baynton, Wharton and Morgan. Carter, *Great Britain*, 74, 83.

under the management of Sir William Johnson,⁸² represented in the Illinois country by Edward Cole.⁸³ The hostility of the Indians to the British drove much of the fur trade along with the French across the river into what had become Spanish territory after the treaty of Fontainebleau in 1762. Officials of both sides complained of traders of the other nation invading their domains.⁸⁴ Decrees were passed against contraband trading, and there were charges, countercharges, and confiscations by both the British and Spanish authorities. These troubles were to continue until well into the Revolutionary War.⁸⁵ In the end, the Spanish seem to have got most of the furs because New Orleans buyers paid a higher price for them than the Americans.⁸⁶

A doleful letter from a trader in Cahokia to an associate in Detroit provides a picture of conditions in 1773:

The Army Left this [place] Last Spring except One Company which stays at Kaskaskia 70 miles from this [place]. The Army's retireing so Suddenly is the reason of my Stay in this Contrary [*sic*] at present or should have returned from this [place] by the way of La Prairie du Chiens Last fall—I say the unexpected demand of the Troops from this [place] was a Loss to me of 16,000 Livres or Better—and has put my Affairs in such confusion that the Lord Knows when I shall Leave this Miserable Country I call [it] miserable for two reasons first as their are no Troops in this Village nor no Manner of Justice Established ever[y] person pays when he Pleases. Secondly we are so subject Dayly to the insults of Savages—that you dare scarce say your Life is your own.⁸⁷

The next year, by the Quebec Act, the Illinois country was again united with Canada, and many of the Easterners withdrew.⁸⁸

⁸² Carter, *Great Britain*, 18.

⁸³ Cole was appointed commissary of Indian affairs on April 17, 1766. He was in the Illinois country from about Aug., 1766 to early in 1769. Carter, *Great Britain*, 57, 59, 74.

⁸⁴ These troubles, as revealed in Spanish documents, are described in A. P. Nasatir, "The Anglo-Spanish Frontier in the Illinois Country During the American Revolution, 1779-1783." *Jour. Ill. State Hist. Soc.*, Vol. XXI, no. 3 (Oct., 1928), 291-97.

⁸⁵ Early in 1771, General Gage was ordered to mobilize an army to attack New Orleans, Carter, *Great Britain*, 101.

⁸⁶ Carter, *Great Britain*, 94.

⁸⁷ John R. Hanson to M. Gilliaume Edgar, Cahokia, Jan. 10, 1773. Photostat of MS, New York Public Library.

⁸⁸ Clarence W. Alvord, ed., *Cahokia Records, 1778-1790* (*Illinois Historical Collections*, II, Springfield, 1907), xxvii-xxxi.

British rule had been very unpopular among the *habitants* in these years, though the latter were not deliberately oppressed.⁸⁹ The military government of General Thomas Gage, headquartered in New York, was too far away and, in the Illinois country, proved to be defective both in theory and practice. Some shady characters high in the area command at Fort de Chartres⁹⁰ made the plight of the French very unhappy, which helps explain why the settlements on the east bank lost so much ground in this period. Although a number of schemes for colonization of the region were backed by such prominent persons as Benjamin Franklin and George Washington, the British government remained opposed to the settlement of the West.⁹¹ Of the Illinois country villages, Cahokia alone seems to have grown during this time—and only by the illicit entry of more traders from Canada.⁹²

(Part Two will appear in the June issue of this *Journal*.)



⁸⁹ A proclamation dated Dec. 30, 1764, and signed in New York City by General Gage, promised freedom of religion as well as freedom to trade (after taking the oath of allegiance). This was announced on the arrival of Stirling in 1765. Carter, *Great Britain*, 17, 46-47.

⁹⁰ Carter, *Great Britain*, 60. Colonel Reed charged excessive fees for the oath of allegiance and marriage licenses and exacted large fines and imprisonment for minor offenses. Lieutenant Colonel Wilkins resigned under fire.

⁹¹ Carter, *Great Britain*, 105-35. Clarence W. Alvord and Clarence Edwin Carter, eds., *Invitation Serieuse aux Habitants des Illinois, etc.* (Providence, 1908), xiii.

⁹² Gage to Hillsborough, New York, Jan. 6, 1770, Carter, *Correspondence of General Thomas Gage*, I: 244.

PLAINSMAN FROM ILLINOIS

BY CLARENCE S. PAINE

THERE is perhaps no character of the frontier of the sixties and seventies about whom more controversy has raged and about whom more legends have been woven than James Butler Hickok, better known as Wild Bill. Tales and so-called biographies of him have been myriad since the appearance of the account in *Harper's Magazine* of February, 1867, by one Colonel George Ward Nichols and supposedly based upon an interview with Wild Bill in Springfield, Missouri, shortly after the close of the Civil War. These many accounts run the gamut of literary types from the dime novels of the seventies, with little or no basis in fact, and the modern western pulp magazines, often with even less, to the efforts of the sometimes reputable novelist-historian Emerson Hough, the historian William Elsey Connelley, onetime superintendent of the Kansas State Historical Society, and the biographer Frank J. Wiltach.

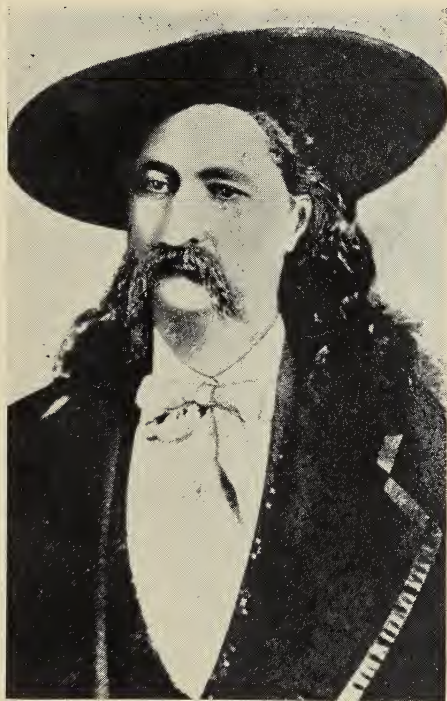
In his book, *The Story of the Outlaw*,¹ Hough made little or no contribution to our knowledge of Wild Bill. Both Connelley, in his posthumously published biography of Hickok,²

¹ Emerson Hough, *The Story of the Outlaw* (New York, 1907).

² William Elsey Connelley, *Wild Bill and His Era; the Life and Adventures of James Butler Hickok* (New York, 1933), 229.

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and Wilstach, in his *Wild Bill Hickok*,³ made some few contributions. Unfortunately, however, Connelley's account comes to us almost without any documentation, due to his daughter's distaste for footnotes and the other impedimenta of scholarship. It was she who put the final touches to her father's manuscript after his death. For the most part, however, both Connelley and Wilstach have depended primarily upon the reminiscences of old-timers. One of these, E. T. "Doc" Pierce, erstwhile "physician," barber, and undertaker, has been characterized by a long-time acquaintance as "a well-known barber, a bombast and windjammer deluxe."⁴



WILD BILL HICKOK

In 1927, the Nebraska State Historical Society rekindled the Wild Bill controversy with an issue of its *Nebraska History Magazine*⁵ devoted to the famous "Wild Bill-McCanles Tragedy" or "massacre" as it was popularly known. The bibliography of writings about Wild Bill and the publication of previously undiscovered contemporary documents which form a part of that publication are extremely valuable. Yet, throughout the account, both the

³ Frank J. Wilstach, *Wild Bill Hickok, the Prince of the Pistoleers* (New York, 1926), 304.

⁴ John S. McClintock to Addison E. Sheldon, Supt., Nebraska State Historical Society, Oct. 23, 1933.

⁵ *Nebraska History Magazine*, Vol. X (April-June, 1927), 67-155.

editor of the magazine and the author of the main article persisted in ignoring or misinterpreting the very sources which they had brought to light.

There is no doubt that the story of the McCanles fight, as related by Colonel Nichols in *Harper's*, was grossly exaggerated. Neither is there any need to doubt that the story told by the Colonel is essentially as he received it from Hickok himself, although it is said that Wild Bill later denied this. The tall-tale tradition of the frontier must be taken into account. It was fashionable for Westerners to tell such tales to the tenderfeet and greenhorns from the East. That Hickok was something of a master of the art can be established from an account in the *Cheyenne* [Wyoming] *Daily Leader* of April 14, 1876, which reads: "Wild Bill still lingers with us. . . —Bill is in his element now-a-days, and makes a business of stuffing newcomers and tenderfeet of all descriptions with tales of his prowess and his wonderful discoveries of diamond caves, etc., which he describes as being located 'up north'." But if the *Harper's* article is a fantasy so also is Mr. Hansen's account in the Nebraska magazine of history.

I shall not retell the story of the Hickok-McCanles fight except to say that Colonel Nichols, in 1867, made Hickok the hero and winner of a singlehanded fight with nine heavily armed ruffians. Sixty years later the Nebraska State Historical Society did a pretty good job of making Wild Bill a cold-blooded murderer of three (at least the number was correct) peace-loving and unarmed citizens of Jefferson County. Neither version is correct. Wild Bill was an abolitionist. McCanles was a Virginian, and, according to contemporary accounts, not too scrupulous. Both were strong-willed men nurtured on the frontier where the only effective law was that of the six-shooter.

Put any two such men down together on the seething Nebraska-Kansas-Missouri border in 1860 and some altercation would almost certainly occur. It would become inevitable if, in addition to those elements, one man, in this instance Hickok,

were employed by a stage line against which the other, McCanles, held a grievance. In order to judge, there is no need even to introduce the circumstantial evidence in the case which points to the presence of a woman. Many men have become killers under far less strained circumstances than these and in a time and place where recourse to law was theirs. In 1860, along the Oregon Trail in southeastern Nebraska, it was a case of kill or be killed.

No sooner had the Nebraska Historical Society's account appeared than the friends of Wild Bill rallied to the cause of their maligned hero with W. E. Connelley, whose book was then in preparation, as their champion. That book, when published, pictured Wild Bill as possibly the greatest force for law and order on the frontier of the sixties and seventies. Meanwhile, and quietly aloof from all of this, the state of Illinois appropriated funds for a monument to this native son of La Salle County and dedicated it with dignity on August 29, 1930.⁶ I would be the last to debate the appropriateness of that gesture. I, too, am an admirer of Wild Bill and all of his kind and I believe that, when his life story is told without distortion or rancor and against the background of the social and economic evolution of his own times, his place in the making of America will be once and for all secure.

It is not my intention to attempt here to tell the whole story of Wild Bill's life. I could not if I would, for I do not know it. Nor, I believe, does anyone else. Nor shall I retell the many tales which have been told and retold, growing at each telling with a propensity akin to the folk tales of Paul Bunyan, Mike Fink, and Fiebold Fieboldson. Rather, let me try to create a perspective which will permit an understanding of Wild Bill and his kind and of the frontier which nurtured them.

The environment of men has always been changing but, until the early part of the nineteenth century, the rate of that

⁶ Wallace Rice, "Dedication of the Memorial to James Butler Hickok, Wild Bill," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, Vol. XXIII, no. 3 (Oct., 1930), 522-36.

evolution was slow. From one generation to the next the social, economic, and political change was almost imperceptible. Thereafter the products and by-products of the industrial revolution and the machine age which it ushered in stepped up that rate of change to a point where, for the first time in history, men found themselves leaving a world radically changed from that into which they had been born. Such was the experience of Wild Bill Hickok.

The son of William Alonzo and Polly Butler Hickok, James Butler Hickok was born in 1837 in La Salle County, Illinois—then a part of the western frontier of the farmer. During the youth's formative years, when, under normal circumstances, there would have been created a respect for statutory law, the operations of the lawless though honestly inspired "Underground Railroad" were common knowledge to him. William Alonzo's tavern, the Green Mountain House, was a station on that route of escape from the slave states.

It was not an uncommon experience for the sons, in company with their father carrying fugitive slaves to the next station, to be pursued by officers of the law with guns blazing. It was a case of moral right, as viewed by the abolitionists, *vs.* statutory law. Under such conditions the concept of the law of the "Underground"—the six-shooter and the rope—is an easy one. It was a pattern which recurred throughout the frontier period wherever there was no statutory law or when that law seemed, in the minds of people, to fall short of serving their needs.

It was a law simple to state and to understand and readily amended to meet the peculiar needs of any community. Witness the following example:

1. Thieves and robbers will be driven out of camp for the first offense—hung for the second.
2. The man who picks a quarrel had better pick up his traps.
3. Men convicted of murder will be hung on the same day.
4. Passing bogus money will entitle a chap to pass out of town, everybody taking a kick at him as he goes.

5. Don't covet your neighbor's wife.
6. Lying should be discouraged.
7. Whack up even on all "finds."
8. No shirking in an Indian fight.
9. All notes of hand must be paid when due, or down goes the maker.
10. Rebellion against the legal authority of the town shoves the rebel out and confiscates his claim.⁷

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It was a law easy to enforce if one were quick on the draw, accurate in his aim, and could tie a noose. It was a law in itself lawless. It was the law which James Butler Hickok was to invoke upon the rampaging cattle towns of Abilene and Hays City in the sixties, thereby making easier the ascension of statutory law enforcement.

Wild Bill's father died in 1852 and thereafter the youth was put more and more upon his own. The gradual inroads of staid society upon the vicinity of his home as the frontier moved westward, the thrilling stories of the deeds of the Kit Carsons and Jim Bridgers, and the tales of guerrilla fighting in Kansas lured his restless nature to that region in 1855 or '56. Shortly after his arrival in eastern Kansas it is reasonably certain that he became associated in some capacity with the famous Free-State guerrilla "army" of Jim Lane.

In March, 1858, he was elected constable of Monticello Township in Kansas Territory where he had claimed land which he worked intermittently during the next year or two. But attempts at tilling the soil apparently proved tedious and unprofitable and in 1859 and '60 Hickok was on the Santa Fe Trail in some capacity as stage driver, freighter, or stock attendant. It was in the latter role that he was sent to the Rock Creek Station in Nebraska in 1860-1861. Here, in 1861, occurred the fight with McCanles.

Leaving Nebraska, Hickok became almost immediately involved in the Civil War. To the best of my knowledge there is no documentary evidence of his military service. There are, however, too many references to that service by those who

⁷ *Laramie* [Wyoming Territory] *Daily Sentinel*, Nov. 1, 1877.

claimed to have served with him and too many legends of his deeds to admit of complete denial. It is likely that his service was in the capacity of civilian scout, spy, and guerrilla, in which case the absence of official records is explainable.

For a year or two following the war, Wild Bill remained in and around Springfield, Missouri, going from there to Kansas City and its environs where he had first settled in 1855-1856. In 1866 he served for a brief period as deputy United States marshal at Fort Riley and during the next three years saw service as a scout and dispatch rider in the Indian wars of the border states and territories. His association with the command of General Custer was enthusiastically recounted by both the General and his wife.

His fame was further attested by the invitation which Hickok received and accepted to escort Senator Henry Wilson, of Massachusetts, and party on an excursion over the plains and mountains in the summer of 1869.

Upon his return from that trip Wild Bill was made peace officer for the town of Hays, Kansas. According to contemporary accounts he cleaned it up promptly, using his own methods. His success led to a similar appointment in the rip-roaring cow town of Abilene in April, 1871. The cattlemen's heyday in Abilene was brief. Wild Bill and his guns did their part, but there was a still more potent force to be reckoned with. The civilization of the farmer, the businessman, the home, and church was spreading more rapidly westward. In February, 1871, the Farmer's Protective Association of Dickinson County, Kansas, had published a notice "respectfully" requesting the Texas cattle drovers to seek some other terminus for their drive in 1872. The cattlemen acquiesced.

There is no doubt that in the lawless days of Hays, Abilene, and other frontier communities Wild Bill Hickok had made a name for himself as a hero, a symbol of "law and order." At this time he was described as "quite a gentle-

man,"⁸ "a man of about 30 years of age, over 6 feet high, straight as an arrow with long, black hair hanging over his shoulders."⁹

That Wild Bill foresaw the end of the frontier and tried to adjust to it is perhaps evident in two abortive attempts to establish himself in show business which would permit him to earn a livelihood in this new society. One of these seems to have ended in financial disaster in Niagara Falls in 1870. The other, his much publicized appearance with Buffalo Bill Cody in Ned Buntline's melodramatic "Scouts of the Plains," lasted only a few weeks. Street brawls with New York cabbies over exorbitant fares, and playfully burning the bare legs of New York actors (cast in the roles of Indians) with the waddings of blank cartridges proved a poor substitute for life on the plains.

Wild Bill returned to the West. His search in the frontier towns for the life he knew and loved soon led him to Wyoming. Surely here, in towns established but four or five years before, Cheyenne, Laramie, Evanston, there would be a place for him. But he failed to reckon with the railroad. Into this new country, for four years the trains had been pouring women and children, and all the makings of comfortable homes, modern business and industry, law and order. In less than a decade society had progressed from the individualistic order of the hunter, trader, trapper, miner, and cattleman to a modern collective society replete with barbed wire, plush, and machines—a society in which women already had gained the voting franchise. Some idea of the rapidity of that evolution can be gained from the following article from a Laramie paper of 1875, about the time that Wild Bill arrived in the region:

Six years [from date of first issue of *Sentinel* and, approximately, of the founding of the town] have made great changes and great improve-

⁸ J. H. Beadle, *Western Wilds and the Men Who Redeemed Them* (Cincinnati, c1879), 213.

⁹ *Archibson* [Kansas] *Daily Free Press*, Jan. 6, 1868.

ments in Laramie City. . . . First and foremost we would mention that we have good society—a good, quiet, orderly community. We don't believe there is a single New England village of 2500 or 3000 people . . . that has as little crime, as little vice and immorality, as little drunkenness and rowdyism as Laramie City. . . . Our town has fine, nice, elegant churches. We have the very best or [*sic*] public graded schools. We have a literary and Library Association with 1200 or 1500 volumes of standard and choice literary and miscellaneous works. . . . We have lodges of Masons, Odd Fellows, Rebecca, Sons of Temperance, Good Templars, etc. . . . Nor are we destitute of taste in finer matters. There are . . . from twenty to twenty-five pianos, twice as many organs, (an organ in every church) and a silver cornet band.

Now most of our merchants have exchanged their shanties and tents for elegant brick and stone fire-proof blocks with iron fronts. . . . On Front and Second streets there is a continuous line of buildings for over a mile in length along each of those streets.

And our little city has for years supported two daily newspapers.

An [*sic*] now they have insisted upon having and undertake to support, two weekly papers—and they will do it too.¹⁰

Wild Bill was a stranger in a strange land. In Evanston, Wyoming, he was convicted of riot and assault on the sheriff and fined \$50 and costs.¹¹ The city marshal of Cheyenne ordered him out of that city under the provisions of a vagrancy act.¹²

It was not Wild Bill who was different—it was society. Most men of his kind were faced with but two alternatives—adjustment to the new order or escape, either to a new frontier or through drink. Wild Bill apparently tried everything.

It is likely that his marriage on March 5, 1876, to Agnes Thatcher Lake and the consequent trip to Cincinnati with her was a sincere attempt to settle down and adjust to the new society. It lasted only two weeks, and at the end of that time he was on his way back to Cheyenne with the avowed intention of joining the gold rush to the Black Hills, making his strike, and returning to settle down with his bride.

That was his last frontier. On August 2, while engaged

¹⁰ *Laramie Daily Sentinel*, May 1, 1875.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, Aug. 4, 1873.

¹² *Cheyenne* [Wyoming Territory] *Daily Leader*, Aug. 18, 1876.

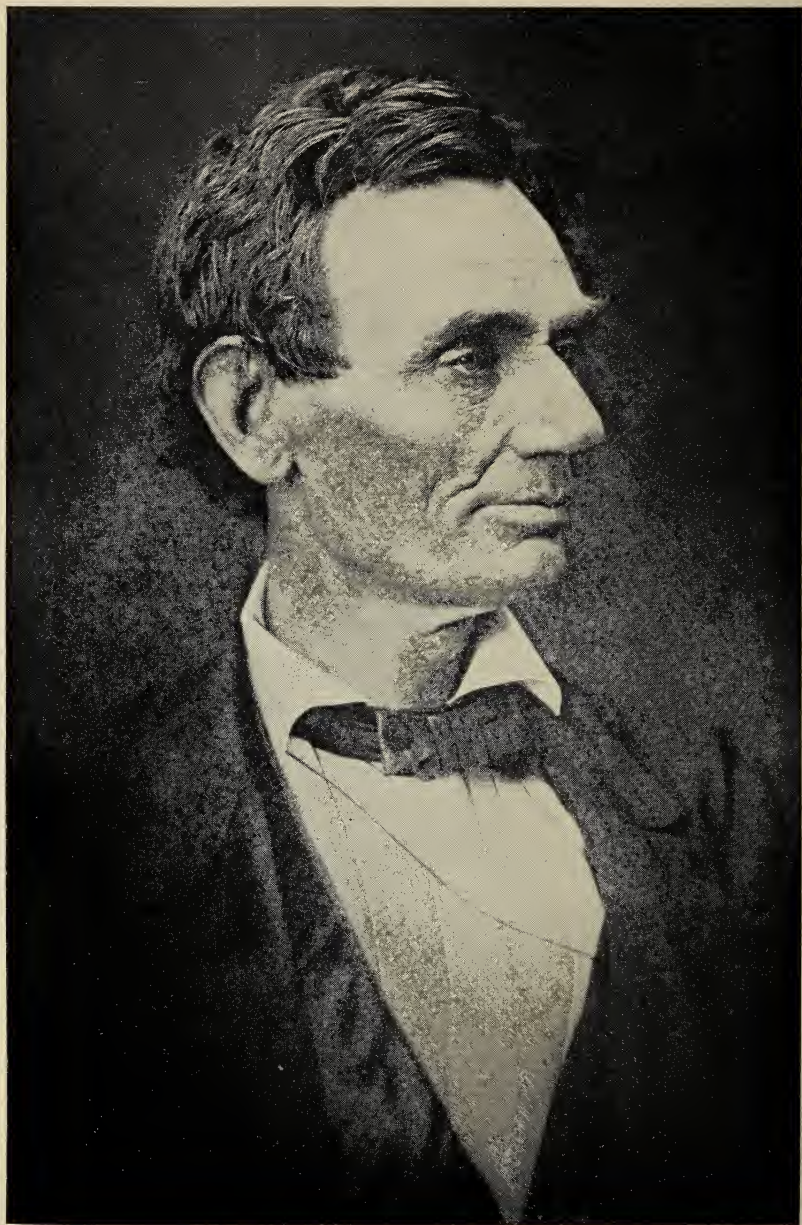
in a poker game in one of Deadwood's saloons, he was shot from behind by one Jack McCall and died instantly. His work was done. The law which he and others had brought to the plains at the point of a six-shooter had surrendered its jurisdiction to the statutory law of the courts. His own murderer was to die by the hand of those courts a few months later.

Whether Wild Bill could have adjusted himself to the new era sufficiently to have found happiness and further success will never be known. At least he would have continued to try. Yet, like other great plainsmen, he would have chosen death with his boots on to the humiliation and infamy suffered by many of his fellow men who, unable to adapt themselves to the new life, spent their last days in side shows, as public wards, or wandering aimlessly about the country, like the riflemen of Stephen Vincent Benét:

Until, at last, they had to turn again,
Burnt out like their own powder in the quest
Because there was no longer any West.¹²



¹² Stephen Vincent Benét, *Western Star* (New York, 1943), 8.



ABRAHAM LINCOLN

From a Photograph Made by Alexander Hesler in Springfield.
Meserve No. 26

LINCOLN AND THE PEORIA FRENCH CLAIMS

BY ERNEST E. EAST

AN incident of Indian warfare in 1812 gave rise to the Peoria French Claims which engaged the attention of members of Congress, the United States General Land Office, occupants of downtown lots in the city of Peoria, and both Illinois and Federal courts for a period that extended over a half-century.

A lawless commander of Illinois Territorial Militia evicted the inhabitants and burned part of the French village of Peoria. The village was abandoned. The French petitioned Congress for redress and, seven years later, the national law-makers passed the first of two acts under which the injured inhabitants were made eligible to receive title to lots which they had occupied in the village. Surveys which were necessary for confirmation of the claims were delayed until 1837. Three years more elapsed before the surveys were approved. Six years later the United States issued the first of twenty-four patents for lots claimed by the French under rules laid down by the commissioner of the General Land Office.

By this time many of the original claimants had been removed by death. Most of the survivors, and the legal repre-

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sentatives of deceased claimants, had disposed of their interests in the lots to other persons, including speculators.

Congress, in making restitution to the former inhabitants of Peoria, tossed into the lap of the courts the question of the legal title to lots which had been for many years in possession of American settlers. Litigation which arose over the claims vexed state and United States courts for nearly twenty years. Leaders of the bar in Peoria, Chicago, Quincy, and Springfield in Illinois, and even in other states, were engaged in no fewer than forty-five separate suits, most of them actions in ejectment filed by the French claimants. Abraham Lincoln was counsel in four or more cases.

French traders, *engagés*, and small farmers had lived among friendly Indians on the shore of Peoria Lake (an expansion of the Illinois River) for more than a century. Peoria (variously spelled) was a village of ninety to one hundred inhabitants. British agents in the War of 1812 encouraged Indians to make hostile demonstrations against American settlers.

French Peoria was situated on the westerly shore of the lake between the present Liberty and Oak streets in the city of Peoria. Earlier French military posts or settlements in this region were Fort Crèvecoeur (1680),¹ Fort Saint Louis (1692),² and Old Peorias Fort and Village (1730).³ A later settlement was Opa (au Pé) a post established by the American Fur Company in 1818 on the left bank of the Illinois River three miles below the outlet of Peoria Lake. It was known as French Trading House in early Peoria and Tazewell County records. The village was platted as Wesley City in 1836. The name was changed to Creve Coeur in 1921.

¹ Arthur M. Lagron, "Fort Crèvecoeur," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, Vol. 5, no. 4 (Jan., 1913), 451-57.

² C. W. Alvord, *The Illinois Country 1673-1818* (*The Centennial History of Illinois*, Springfield, 1920), 100.

³ Twenty-four former inhabitants of "Pioria" petitioned Congress in 1803 for legislation which would permit them to make claim for lots and lands (photostat in the Illinois Historical Survey, Urbana); Jedidiah Morse, *The American Gazetteer* (Boston, 1797). Old Peorias Fort and Village was abandoned in 1796 or 1797.

Governor Ninian Edwards, of Illinois Territory, organized and accompanied an expedition of mounted troops which attacked the Potawatomi village of Chief Black Partridge at the head of Peoria Lake in October, 1812. Twenty-five to thirty Indians were killed without loss to the militia. Captain Thomas E. Craig of Shawneetown was dispatched with his



Courtesy Missouri Historical Society

Robert Forsyth

company and supplies in two boats to co-operate with the land forces. He was delayed and arrived at Peoria Lake several days after the troops under Colonel William Russell and Governor Edwards had returned to Fort Russell, which had been established near Edwardsville.⁴

Craig found that half of the Peoria French had fled to the southern settlements. His men looted vacant houses, including the warehouse of Thomas Forsyth, United States Indian sub-agent, who maintained a trading house at Peoria in partnership with his half-brother, John Kinzie, of Chicago.⁵

Forsyth was absent when Craig came. He was returning by boat from St. Louis where he had gone with Lieutenant Linai T. Helm, whom he had ransomed from an Indian captor after the Fort Dearborn massacre.⁶ Forsyth, upon his return, demanded that Craig restore his goods and those of other inhabitants which had been removed to one of the commander's boats. Only a portion of the loot was returned by the troops. Indians in the night fired on Craig's boats, and the commander angrily accused the French of having knowledge of the Indians' intentions. This was denied. Craig then "arrested" the inhabitants. He set fire to four houses and to four barns, two of the latter containing wheat. He forced forty-one men, women, and children to enter two open boats in which he conducted them to Savage's Ferry, near Alton. Forsyth was refused permission to leave men to care for two hundred head of cattle and other property. Governor Edwards ordered the release of the prisoners, but not until they had been held four days.

Thirteen former inhabitants of Peoria petitioned Con-

⁴ Frank E. Stevens, "Illinois in the War of 1812-1814," *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society for the Year 1904* (Springfield, 1904), 62-197.

⁵ *The Peoria Journal*, Aug. 30, 1938. Forsyth's manuscript is reprinted from the Draper manuscripts at the Wisconsin State Historical Library, Madison, Wis. Other Forsyth papers are in the library of the Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis, Mo.

⁶ Forsyth to John Kinzie, Sept. 24, 1812, William Woodbridge Papers (MSS, Public Library, Detroit, Mich.). Lieutenant Helm was second in command at Fort Dearborn on Aug. 15, 1812. He was wounded in one foot and made captive by Mittatass, probably an Ottawa warrior. Forsyth ransomed Helm at Peoria with two mares and "a keg of stuff when practicable."

gress in 1813 for redress on account of the outrage.⁷ Congress, in 1820, approved an act which directed the register of the land office at Edwardsville—then Edward Coles—to examine claims of former occupants of lots in French Peoria.⁸ Claims to seventy lots and out-lots in both the old and new village sites were filed by thirty-two individuals or their heirs, although the earlier village had ceased to exist before 1812. A second act, approved in 1823, confirmed these claims with certain limitations, and directed the land office to make surveys of the lots.⁹ The Secretary of the Treasury was directed to issue patents; and patents to lots, upon a proper showing, were issued by the land office.¹⁰

Robert Forsyth,¹¹ son of Thomas, received title to one lot through inheritance and purchase. He also purchased the interests of a number of other claimants. Claims to lots in the younger French village were laid principally on two fractional quarter sections which were purchased from the United States through original entry by Charles Ballance¹² and John L.

⁷ Simeon De Witt Drown, *Drown's Record and Historical View of Peoria* (Peoria, 1850), 61-62. The petition doubtless was written by Forsyth. Signers besides Forsyth were A. Le Claire, Antoine Bourbonne, Pierre LeVasseur, Charles LeBelle, Hipolite Maillet, Louison Pensannoe, Antoine Lapance, Francois Racine, Sr.; Francois Racine, Jr.; Joseph Guerette, Francis Bouche, and Felix Fontaine.

⁸ *United States Statutes at Large*, 16 Cong., 1 Sess., Chap., 125. "An Act for the relief of the inhabitants of the village of Peoria, in the state of Illinois."

⁹ *United States Statutes at Large*, 17 Cong., 2 Sess., Chap., 67. "An Act to confirm certain claims to lotts [*sic*] in the village of Peoria, in the state of Illinois."

¹⁰ Edward Coles, register of the land office at Edwardsville, received proof of claims to lots of both the old and new villages. Coles' manuscript report is in the office of the Illinois Auditor of Public Accounts, Springfield. This report has been printed in C. W. Alvord, *Governor Edward Coles*, (*Illinois Historical Collections*, XV, Springfield, 1920), 222-53. The U. S. Supreme Court in *Hall, Plaintiff in Error v. Papin*, 24 How. (U. S.) 132 laid down the rule that the act of March, 1823, applied only to the new village. The General Land Office appears to have refused to issue patents to lots in Old Peoria. Surveys were made by Joseph C. Brown in April and May, 1837. See Illinois Claims, General Land Office, Washington, D. C., Vol. 24, 4-8.

¹¹ Robert Forsyth was born in French Peoria on July 18, 1808, according to his deposition in *Papin v. Kellogg* (Circuit Court of Peoria County, 1854). He platted Forsyth's addition to Peoria in 1858. Robert Forsyth's biographer in William Hyde and Howard L. Conrad, eds., *Encyclopedia of the History of St. Louis* (St. Louis, 1899), II: 811, states that: "As a land dealer he had at one time eleven complicated suits in the courts of Missouri and Illinois. Abraham Lincoln was his attorney in the latter state."

¹² Charles Ballance was born in Madison, Ky., on Nov. 10, 1800; came to Peoria in 1831 and opened a law office in 1832. He was county surveyor in 1834 and resurveyed the Original Town of the City of Peoria which was first surveyed by William S. Hamilton, son of Alexander Hamilton of New York. Ballance in 1835 engaged in a gun battle with Isaac Underhill and

Bogardus,¹³ respectively. The former platted his tract as Ballance's addition to the city of Peoria. Bogardus sold his tract to Lewis Bigelow¹⁴ and Isaac Underhill¹⁵ who platted it as Bigelow and Underhill's addition. The land office anticipated the French claims, and patents to Ballance and Bogardus were issued subject to the act confirming the claims.

Ballance was both defendant and attorney in a number of title suits and also attorney for several other defendants in actions brought by the French. The claimants and their agents were not eager to recover physical possession of the lots. They demanded, and received in a number of cases, substantial sums to release their interests. The litigation was financed mostly by men who speculated in the French claims, chief among whom was Robert Forsyth. Opposed to them were Ballance and others who owned or leased city lots covered by the French claim lots on which Americans had erected business houses, then in the heart of Peoria's commercial area.

Ejectment suits brought by the claimants were filed as early as 1848 in the Circuit Court of Peoria County, and soon thereafter in the United States Circuit Court at Chicago, which then had original jurisdiction. New actions were begun at intervals over a period of ten years. At one time, three ejectment suits brought by Robert Forsyth against Charles Ballance were pending in the Circuit Court of Peoria County. Fifteen cases were appealed from the United States Circuit and District courts to the Supreme Court, two going up twice. No fewer than thirty-six suits originated in the Circuit Court of

one of Underhill's hirelings for possession of a disputed lot. Nobody was hit. Ballance held the battlefield. He was intimately acquainted with Abraham Lincoln. From Springfield, on July 27, 1855, Lincoln wrote to Ballance acknowledging receipt of \$20.00 and mentioning a Peoria French claim in which Browning and Lincoln were engaged (see Huntington Library MSS. Pac. 60). He died at Peoria on Aug. 10, 1872.

¹³ John L. Bogardus (1790-1838) was a native of New York state and Peoria's first lawyer.

¹⁴ Lewis Bigelow was born in Petersham, Mass., 1785. He was a lawyer; member Seventeenth Congress; moved to Peoria, 1832; appointed Circuit Clerk, 1835; died, 1838.

¹⁵ Isaac Underhill was born in Westchester County, N. Y., 1808; moved to Peoria in 1833 and engaged in large farming operations and pork-packing. He was president of the Peoria & Bureau Valley Rail Road Company; organizer of the Marseilles Bridge Co., and the Land and Water Power Co. at Marseilles, Ill. He moved to Texas and died in Austin, 1875.

Peoria County and of these eight or more were decided in the Illinois Supreme Court.

Lincoln unexpectedly entered a case called up in United States Circuit Court in Chicago. He appears to have volunteered to act in the place of Ballance when a case in which the Peorian was attorney was called for trial in Ballance's absence. This was an ejectment suit which was begun in 1850 and finally decided more than sixteen years later.¹⁶ Robert Forsyth brought the action against James Barton to recover possession of the lot designated as lot No. 27 on the plat of New Peoria.¹⁷ This French lot touched seven lots in Bigelow and Underhill's addition.

Three trials were held in the United States Circuit Court. Judge Thomas Drummond found first for the defendant. Upon a new trial, a jury gave its verdict to the plaintiff. Upon a third trial, also by jury, the plaintiff again was the victor.

Barton was a transient. Attorney Ballance was Barton's landlord and the real defendant although the court denied his motion that he be substituted for Barton. Ballance alleged numerous errors in his appeal but the United States Supreme Court narrowed his case to a single exception and affirmed the judgment of the Circuit Court.

The case in the Supreme Court was argued by Ballance and Reverdy Johnson, of Baltimore, for the plaintiff in error. Archibald Williams,¹⁸ of Quincy, represented the defendant in error. Chief Justice Roger B. Taney delivered the opinion of the court at its December term, 1857. The court's mandate giving possession to Forsyth was issued in July, 1858.

Four years later, Ballance reopened the fight with an

¹⁶ *Barton, Plaintiff in Error v. Forsyth*, 20 How. (U.S.) 532; *Barton v. Forsyth*, 5 Wal. (U.S.) 190.

¹⁷ Lot 27 on the plat of New Peoria was occupied by Michael LaCroix, a trader, who died in 1821. A patent was issued to his legal representatives. LaCroix had three children by Catherine Dubuque, "illegitimate but recognized by him" see *Forsythe v. Ballance*, 6 McLean (Ill.) 562.

¹⁸ Archibald Williams was born in Montgomery County, Ky., 1801; moved to Quincy, Ill., 1829; Senator and Representative in Ill. Gen. Assembly for three terms; U.S. District Attorney; appointed by President Lincoln District Judge of Kansas. Williams died at Quincy, 1863.

application for a writ of restitution which appears to have been issued "improvidentially" by the United States Circuit Court. Forsyth in 1864 obtained from Judge Drummond an order quashing the writ and reinstating Forsyth in possession of lot No. 27. Ballance again filed an appeal but the Supreme Court in a long opinion declined to take jurisdiction. The decision was announced at the December term, 1866.

William C. Goudy,¹⁹ formerly of Lewistown, then of Chicago, appeared for Forsyth when the second appeal case was argued in the Supreme Court.

Attorney Ballance complained that Forsyth took advantage of him by calling up the case before Judge Drummond in the court below during Ballance's absence. Ballance presented a history of the case in a pamphlet²⁰ containing an abstract of the record, which was printed in or about 1866. The date of Lincoln's appearance in Drummond's court seems to have been February 1, 1853, although the Springfield lawyer's presence in Chicago on that day is not clearly indicated.

Ballance asserted that Forsyth had nothing more than a pretense of title. He continued:

Judge Drummond, who has to this day escaped the charge of being partial to the side of these cases I represent, decided that the Plaintiff had no title whatever, and gave judgment against him, [Forsyth] and I thought that was the end of it; but subsequently, within a year, but without my knowledge, he paid the cost, docketed the case, as by our ejectment law he had a right to do, and called it up, or it was called up for trial. Mr. Lincoln, who was since President of the United States, was present and remonstrated with the Court and Forsyth's Attorneys against trying the case in my absence, and without my knowledge, and said I was expected there the next day; but the Judge ruled the case to trial, whereupon Mr. Lincoln told them he knew nothing of the case, and had not my title papers, but if they ruled him into trial in that manner, he would sit by and watch them, and take any advantage of them he could. After they had proceeded in the trial some length, they asked him to admit

¹⁹ William C. Goudy was born in Indiana, 1824; graduate of Illinois College, Jacksonville; practiced law at Lewistown; State's Attorney and State Senator; moved to Chicago where he died, 1893.

²⁰ A copy of Ballance's report to the U. S. Supreme Court is owned by the Illinois State Historical Library. It bears no date, no place.

possession of the premises at the commencement of the suit, which I had, to save costs, done on the former trial, (proof of possession being in those days necessary,) but this he declined to do, and they would have been driven to a nonsuit had not Mr. Lincoln, out of abundant good nature, consented to a continuance.

William Goudy, on behalf of Forsyth, also took a gloomy view of the situation. His brief, quoted from this same pamphlet, reads, in part:

This suit was commenced in 1850, and was thrice tried in the Circuit Court, and once heard in this Court. The defeated party sought to circumvent their successful adversary and snatch from him the fruits of his judgment. The possession was, notwithstanding such device, transferred to the defendant in error. By some means not shown by the record, Ballance got a writ and thereby was restored to the possession, and afterward the Court corrected its erroneous action and executed fully the judgment and mandates of this Court. So far as the proceedings in this suit are concerned, we are now in the *seventeenth* year of its life. Is it not time it should rest?

Forsyth's attorney goes on to say that Ballance in the name of his agents, after failing in the United States Supreme Court, brought two suits in the Circuit Court of Peoria County in an effort to regain possession of the lot in question. Goudy continues:

Notwithstanding these appeals to the State tribunals to get back the possession from Forsythe [*sic*] given by the United States Marshal under the process of the Court, Ballance comes into the Circuit Court of the United States with his motion to recover the same possession of the same property; and after being defeated, he is now asking this honorable Court to aid him in this unjust effort.

If it were possible to stay this litigation I would appeal to your Honors to do so, but no earthly power will ever be powerful enough to stop the controversy in regard to the Peoria French claims. We can only hope that it will not descend to the next generation.

Orville Hickman Browning,²¹ of Quincy, and Lincoln

²¹ Orville Hickman Browning was born in Kentucky, 1806; admitted to the bar in 1831 and moved to Quincy in the same year; Black Hawk War soldier; State Senator, 1836-1843. Browning was appointed to fill the unexpired term of Stephen A. Douglas, deceased, in the U.S. Senate, serving 1861-1863; appointed by President Johnson as Secretary of the Interior, serving 1866-1869, during part of which time he also acted as Attorney General; resumed law practice in Quincy and died there, 1881.

appeared for the defendant in *Joseph L. Papin v. William Hall*,²² which came before Judge Drummond in United States Circuit Court in July, 1855. Julius Manning²³ and Amos L. Merriman,²⁴ of Peoria, and Archibald Williams, of Quincy, represented the plaintiff. The jury members were unable to agree. Subsequently, however, a verdict was found for the plaintiff. The defendant appealed to the United States Supreme Court, complaining that the lower court erred in refusing to give certain instructions. The upper court reversed the Circuit Court and remanded the case with directions for a new trial. Browning presented a printed argument for Hall, the plaintiff in error, in the Supreme Court.

Lincoln and Archibald Williams represented Robert Forsyth in a losing suit against the city of Peoria which was tried in the United States District Court at Chicago. Orville Hickman Browning won the case for the defendant and left a record of his participation in his diary. Testimony was presented on July 11, 1855. Argument was begun on the following day and completed on July 13. The jury brought in a verdict for the city on the fourth day of the trial.²⁵

"This case was submitted to the jury last night," said the *Peoria Weekly Democratic Press*:

Judge [John] McLean delivered his charge to the jury somewhat strongly for the defense. . . . The plaintiff lays claim to a certain portion of land now occupied and used as Bridge street in the city of Peoria, under an old grant from Congress. The defense set up that that portion of land for the street in question was formerly part of an old state road and there-

²² *Peoria Weekly Republican*, July 27, 1855, reprinted from the *Chicago Tribune*; Theodore Calvin Pease and James G. Randall, eds., *The Diary of Orville Hickman Browning (Illinois Historical Collections, XX, 1925)*, I: 193, 389; 24 How. (U.S.) 132.

²³ Julius Manning was born in Canada near Chateaugay, N. Y.; attended Middlebury College, Vt.; began practice of law in Knoxville, Ill.; county judge and representative in Ill. Gen. Assembly; removed to Peoria, 1853; delegate to the State Constitutional Convention, 1862; died at Knoxville, 1862.

²⁴ Amos Lee Merriman and his brother, Halsey O. Merriman, were partners in law practice at Peoria. Halsey O. died in 1854. Amos Lee formed a partnership with Julius Manning. Merriman was elected judge of the circuit court of Peoria County in 1861 and served until late in 1863 when he resigned and moved to Washington, D. C.

²⁵ Pease and Randall, eds., *Diary of Browning*, I: 190-92. Browning's diary for the later years mentions three occasions on which he met Mr. and Mrs. Forsyth socially. Forsyth's legal residence was in St. Louis but he lived in Chicago and also in Peoria part of the time.

fore condemned for the use of the state. Plaintiff lays claim for damages, and holds that the state road was only four rods or 60 feet wide, whereas the street is 80 feet wide. Defense set up that damages for land condemned for the state should have been claimed somewhere in the neighborhood of the year 1833, and claims have been extinguished by the statute of limitations. Verdict for defense. An appeal probably will be taken to the United States Supreme Court by plaintiff.²⁶

Justice John McLean and Judge Thomas Drummond presided at this term of court. Browning's diary records that Judges Bellamy Storer and Oliver M. Spencer of the Superior Court of Cincinnati, Ohio, were "on the bench" with McLean and Drummond. Browning also relates that Lincoln, Williams, and himself on July 11, "took tea at Blackwell's," doubtless at the home of Attorney Robert S. Blackwell of Chicago, who earlier had read law in Browning's office at Quincy.

Attorney Browning, who in 1860 got a fee of \$2,500 in a contested divorce case, appears to have received \$25 for his successful defense of the Forsyth suit against the city of Peoria.²⁷ City councilmen on July 28, 1855, allowed a bill of \$25 presented by Charles Ballance "for amt. paid by him to O. H. Browning counsel fees." Ballance then was mayor of Peoria and it is not unlikely that he assisted Browning in the trial since his own personal interests lay in resisting the French claims.

Later in 1855, Lincoln prepared for a further study of the French claims. Under date of October 10, he wrote from

²⁶ *Peoria Weekly Democratic Press*, July 25, 1855. Reprinted from *Chicago Times*.¹ The French claim lot designated as No. 2 covered the intersection of Bridge and Water streets. The United States conveyed this lot by patent to the legal representatives of Augustin Roque. Victore Galarneau and three other heirs of Roque conveyed their interest in the lot to Theodore Papin of St. Louis for \$45. Papin sold to Forsyth for \$1,200. Forsyth sold three parcels of the lot for \$5,250, and he also sold a fourth parcel for which the consideration is not shown by the records of the Peoria County Recorder (Book Y, 520). Forsyth appears not to have appealed the case.

²⁷ *Journal of the Proceedings of the City Council of the City of Peoria 1853-1858*, 227. Subsequent entries indicate that Forsyth threatened or brought actions against the city. Alderman John T. Lindsay, an attorney, was allowed \$57.45 by the Council "for money advanced by him for costs and council fees in the case of Forsythe vs. City." In March, 1856, Norman H. Purple, former Illinois Supreme Court justice, was retained by the city in the Forsyth case. Julius Manning three months earlier had been appointed city attorney but, according to the council record, he had previously represented Forsyth in the United States Circuit Court case against the city, a relation which appears to have disqualified him from representing the city.

Springfield to the Surveyor General in St. Louis, Missouri, as follows: "Will you please send me a statement of each quarter Section, and fractional quarter Section, upon which, by Brown's survey, any Peoria French Claim is laid? Your reasonable charge for the same shall be promptly paid."²⁸

Springfield, Ill. Oct. 10. 1855

Surveyor General:
St. Louis, Mo.
Sir.

Will you please send me a statement of each quarter Section, and fractional quarter Section, upon which, by Brown's survey, any Peoria French claim is laid? Your reasonable charge for the same shall be promptly paid.
Your Obedt. Servt.
A. Lincoln

LINCOLN'S LETTER TO THE SURVEYOR GENERAL

Lincoln probably received a copy of the plat of the "New Village of Peoria" by which name the General Land Office distinguished this village from Old Peoria. No patents had been issued to persons claiming eight lots in the older village. The Surveyor General's office charged Lincoln a fee of \$4.00 for its service and payment from him was received on October 15.

Lincoln filed a brief on behalf of Robert Forsyth who won a suit in the United States Supreme Court for possession of a historic lot in New Peoria which had been occupied by Thomas Forsyth, father of the litigant. Robert Forsyth was the appellant. The appellees were John Reynolds, Josiah H. McClure, and John McDougal. The case went up on appeal from the United States Circuit Court and was decided by the upper court at its December term, 1853.

²⁸ Lincoln's letter is in the office of the Illinois Auditor of Public Accounts, Springfield.

Reynolds, a wealthy forwarding and commission merchant, McClure, a lumber dealer, and McDougal, owner of a business block, filed a bill in the United States Court praying a perpetual injunction against Forsyth to restrain him from prosecuting ejectment proceedings against occupants of the French claim lot designated as No. 7 on the plat.²⁹ Plaintiffs set up that Thomas Forsyth was barred under the acts for the relief of Peoria inhabitants because under a Federal act of 1823 he had received two land donations in Michigan Territory.³⁰

Robert Forsyth's answer set out the chain of title to the lot. He stated that John Baptiste Maillet³¹ had occupied the lot prior to 1790 when he sold it to John Coursoll who, in turn, sold it to Thomas Forsyth. The original claimant, the elder Forsyth, devised the property by will to Thomas, Mary, and Robert Forsyth, his children.³² Robert Forsyth acquired the interests of the other children.

The United States Circuit Court in 1852, gave the plain-

²⁹ French claim lot No. 7 was conveyed by the United States to the legal representatives of Thomas Forsyth "under John Baptiste Maillet . . . the inhabitant or settler within the purview of the confirmatory act of Congress." The lot contained 102,936 square feet. It lay near the foot of the present Harrison Street. Forsyth, the original claimant, presented the testimony of Hipolite Maillet who said he was born in a stockaded fort which stood on this lot, and that his father, John Baptiste Maillet, had been there as early as 1778. John M. Coursoll, who acquired the lot, sold it to Forsyth (Duff Green edition, *American State Papers*, Public Lands, III: 424).

Robert Forsyth in 1854 sold three parcels of lot No. 7 for an aggregate of \$13,825.50. He sold two other parcels for a nominal consideration. He sold a sixth parcel (with other parcels) for approximately \$4,400. Forsyth acquired and sold interests in twenty other French claim lots although title to only eight of this number passed from the United States to the claimants.

³⁰ Green, *Am. State Papers*, P.L., I: 282.

³¹ Jean Baptiste Maillet probably was born at St. Denis, Richelieu County, Quebec, on July 3, 1753. He was at Peoria in or before 1773. He received two land donations of 400 acres each under Congressional acts of 1788 and 1791, respectively. His estate received a donation of 100 acres on account his military service. Maillet was appointed commandant at Peoria by George Rogers Clark. He was continued in this capacity by Arthur St. Clair, first governor of the Northwest Territory. William H. Smith, *The St. Clair Papers* (Cincinnati, 1882), II: 137-38. Maillet appears, in 1773, to have sold land "near the Peoria Old Fort" to Jean Baptiste Pointe du Sable before the French-Negro moved to the Chicago area. Maillet on July 6, 1801, sold 800 acres at Peoria to Isaac Darneille, the second lawyer to practice in Illinois. The grantor simply signed "M."

³² Mary Forsyth was married to Anthony R. Bouis. Thomas, son of Thomas, died unmarried. Robert Forsyth was appointed administrator of the estate of Thomas Forsyth. Thomas Forsyth's will, executed at St. Louis on Sept. 11, 1833, bequeathed seven Negroes to his descendants. Edward Bates (afterward Attorney General in Lincoln's cabinet), and Robert Allan Forsyth (Paymaster, U.S. Army, Detroit), were named executors.

tiffs a perpetual injunction on the ground that grants to Thomas Forsyth in Michigan Territory rendered invalid the patent which was issued to the legal representatives of the claimant.

Upon Forsyth's appeal, the United States Supreme Court reversed the lower court and remanded the case with directions to dismiss the bill, holding that lands granted to settlers in Michigan Territory prior to the surrender of the western posts by the British government were made to carry out provisions of Jay's Treaty and were not donations which would exclude a settler in Peoria from the benefits of the acts of 1820 and 1823.³³ Archibald Williams argued the case for the appellant. Briefs on that side also were filed by Lincoln. Salmon P. Chase of Ohio, Lincoln's first Secretary of the Treasury, argued for the appellees and a brief also was filed by Norman H. Purple³⁴ of Peoria.

Charles Ballance, in 1870, wrote *The History of Peoria, Illinois*, and in this he reviewed the French claims controversy with a show of considerable prejudice. He complained:

I have known honest jurors to find verdicts against evidence, and honest judges to overrule the plainest principles of law that have been established since the days of Lord Coke, to aid the speculators in these controversies. I have known a certain speculator [Robert Forsyth] to take a surveyor about block 34 (to which he had no more title than the king of Dahomey), and look wise, and say nothing, while all the inhabi-

³³ *Forsyth, Appellant, v. Reynolds et al.*, 15 How. (U.S.) 358. Records, including briefs, of twelve Peoria French claim cases which went to the United States Supreme Court are in the Library of Congress but *Forsyth v. Reynolds et al.*, is not among them. E. F. Cullinane, assistant clerk of the Supreme Court, in response to an inquiry replied: "I have examined the papers in the cases referred to and have been unable to locate any of the briefs which were supposed to have been filed by Mr. Lincoln." (The Supreme Court's opinion in *Ballance, Plaintiff in Error, v. Forsyth et al.*, 13 How. (U.S.) 18, states: "Charles Ballance was admitted to defend in the place of Lincoln, that suit having been consolidated with the one brought by the plaintiffs against Goudy." Reference here is made not to Abraham Lincoln but to Albert F. Lincoln of Peoria, who was defendant in a United States Circuit Court suit brought by Forsyth).

³⁴ Norman H. Purple was born in Otsego County, N. Y., 1803; studied law in Pennsylvania and was admitted to the bar in 1830; moved to Peoria in 1837; appointed justice of the Illinois Supreme Court by Governor Ford and served from 1846 until the court was reorganized under the Constitution of 1848. He was assigned to preside in the Fifth Judicial District. Resumed law practice in Peoria; member of the State Constitutional Convention of 1862. Purple compiled a volume of Illinois laws relating to real estate, and also compiled in two volumes the general statutes of the state which became known as the "Purple Statutes." Purple died in Chicago, 1863. David McCulloch, *The History of Peoria County*, (Chicago, 1902), II: 538.

tants in the block were running out and begging him not to dispossess them, promising submission, and agreeing to pay whatever they should.

The *Peoria Daily Transcript* of June 3, 1867, printed a news article headed, "The End of the French Claims," in which it was stated that Mr. Ballance had settled pending suits by paying \$31,000 to Forsyth. Ballance, in a communication printed in the *Transcript* two days later, made no denial of the statement except to say that the controversy was not finally closed. Deeds, he admitted, were in preparation. He added:

I have expended many thousands of dollars in money and some of the best years of my life in opposing a band of speculators, who, but for me, would have recovered a large portion of our city and stopped up our spacious streets and opening in lieu of them running at different angles, "French cowpaths."

A warranty deed under which Robert Forsyth and Ann M., his wife, conveyed eight parcels of real estate in Ballance's addition, and in Bigelow and Underhill's addition, to Ballance was recorded on June 11, 1867. The consideration was \$31,000.³⁵

One of Ballance's biographers³⁶ states that he fought the French claims, frequently singlehanded against some of the best lawyers in the West; that he was sometimes successful and sometimes defeated, but that "he persisted until he triumphed over all his opponents, and removed entirely and forever that incubus on the prosperity of the city . . . so that now no such claims exist."

This is an overstatement. Ballance obtained from the United States Supreme Court an opinion sustaining his con-

³⁵ Record C C Peoria County Recorder, 89.

³⁶ McCulloch, *History of Peoria County*, II: 444.

Earlier claims of French settlers, which bore no relation to the acts of 1820 and 1823, were based on occupancy and improvement of lands at Peoria. Claims were affirmed or rejected by the commissioners of the Kaskaskia land district who reported to the Secretary of the Treasury on Dec. 31, 1809. (See Gales and Seaton edition, *American State Papers*, Public Lands, *passim*.) Claims affirmed were confirmed by act of Feb. 20, 1812. (*United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. 2, 12 Cong., 1st Sess., Chap. 22.) A widely publicized claim was that of the heirs of Philippe François Renault, director general of mines of the Mississippi Company, who in 1723 received large grants at Peoria Lake (Pimiteoui), Kaskaskia, and St. Philippe. These were of doubtful validity. Renault heirs made numerous unsuccessful attempts to obtain confirmation of the concessions.

tention that the Illinois statute of limitations barred recovery after adverse possession for seven years. But while winning three cases in the highest court he lost no fewer than five others. French claims no longer exist because Ballance and others obtained release through purchase of the interests of claimants who met the requirements of federal and state laws.

Mr. Ballance did not settle for cash when he had the means to continue a fight.



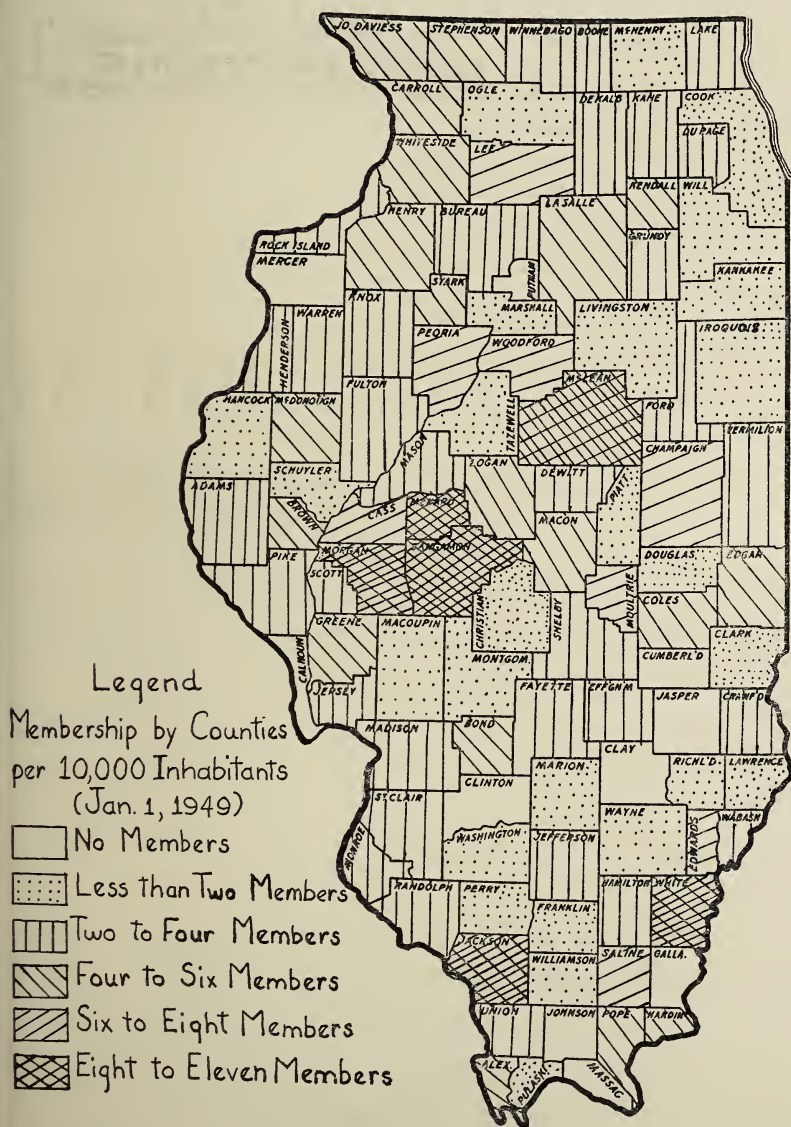
SALTILLO HUMOR

One of the principal ingredients of army camp newspapers has always been humor—even as long ago as the Mexican War. The following story about General Zachary Taylor is quoted from *The Picket Guard* (May 21, 1847), which was published for seven weeks in the spring of 1847 at Saltillo, Mexico, by two Illinois soldiers, William and Moses Osman. Copies of six of the seven issues of their newspaper were recently given to the Illinois State Historical Library by William Osman, of Ottawa, Illinois, an heir of *The Picket Guard's* founders.

General Taylor's Spanish—Nothing, we have heard it said, annoys Gen. Taylor more than to have Mexicans come to him and address him in Spanish. During the year he has been in this country, he has learned but one word of Spanish, and that is *vamos*,—the imperative plural of *go*,—*begone*. One day while encamped at Saltillo, being very busy in his tent, a Mexican came up and commenced uttering a long complaint in Spanish. The old Gen. turned to Maj. Bliss and asked "What in heaven's name does the man want?" Maj. B. explained that the Mississippians appeared to be taking wood from his house. Now the Mississippi Regt. was a favorite of the General's and as they had always conducted them-

selves well, he was in an unfortunate mood to hear complaints against them. So waving his hand towards the Mexican, he told him to 'huebos, huebos, huebos!' [eggs, eggs, eggs] He had heard some one use the word, a minute before, and took it for his favorite word *vamos*. When Gen. Taylor, in Jan. last, arrived here from Monterey, he encamped near town but was not pleased with the location for an encampment. So speaking on the subject with a number of officers that had called to pay their respects to him, he told them that in a few days he should move the whole army to *agua ardeante*, (the Mexican word for brandy, (He meant *Agua Nueva*).

DISTRIBUTION OF ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY MEMBERSHIP



Thomas Jefferson would have liked this map because he believed that the salvation of democracy depended on the rural areas. Note the influence of downstate colleges on the counties in which they are located.



ILLINOIS ST *1899-Golde*



STORY OF ILLINOIS

(Revised Edition)

By Theodore Calvin Pease

THIS IS ILLINOIS

(A Pictorial History)

By Jay Monaghan

CAHOKIA

MAY 20 and 21

Spring Tour—250th Anniversary of Oldest
Settlement in the Mississippi Valley

HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Anniversary Year-1949

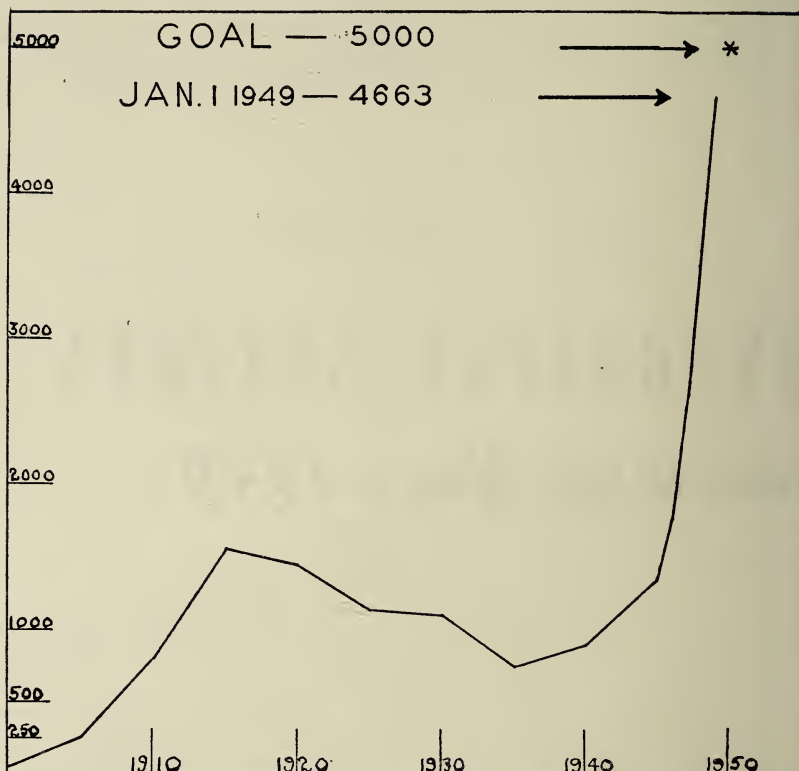


SPRINGFIELD

OCTOBER 7 and 8

Annual Meeting and Celebration of
the Society's Fiftieth Anniversary

FIFTY YEARS OF ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY MEMBERSHIP



This graph shows the ups and downs of the Illinois State Historical Society's membership during half a century. The financial depression of the 1930's, of course, brought the sharpest drop in membership and this was the final phase of a general decline caused by raising the dues from \$1.00 to \$2.00 and weeding out non-paying members. The great increase after 1945 is due, in part, to the enrollment of junior members. The map of the state showing the membership by counties does not include these juniors. If it did, Rock Island County would have a larger proportion of membership than any of the other 101 counties. Also, Cook County is one of the lowest in the proportional ratings despite the fact that it has some 700 members—several times as many as any other county.

SILAS BRYAN OF SALEM

BY PAOLO E. COLETTA

I

A gaunt youth of fourteen, nearly six feet tall, with an aquiline nose and thin lips, stood on the crest of a Virginia mountain ridge. He gazed longingly toward the pleasant valleys to the east below, where the beautiful mansions blended their red bricks and white paint with the natural colors of field and forest and stream. Some day, he said to himself, he, too, would have a plantation, he, too, would be a country squire with a mansion and a deer park. Then Silas Lillard Bryan, determination registered on his countenance, turned abruptly away and began a long journey westward to the prairies of Illinois.

This was the second journey for Silas Bryan. When he was six years old the family had moved from near Sperryville, Virginia, to Point Pleasant, now in West Virginia, leaving the home of the first Bryans in America.¹ His grandfather, Wil-

¹ The precise date of the arrival of the first Bryan from Ireland remains unknown, but it was before the Revolutionary War. Wayne C. Williams, *William Jennings Bryan* (New York, 1936), 19-20, has traced one line of Bryans "back to Baron William De Mowbray, who helped to wrest Magna Carta from King John," and another to a King of Munster, born 927 A.D., known as Bryan Borou. About 1600 a direct lineal descendant of Bryan Borou, the unruly William Smith Bryan, was shipped by the English throne to Gloucester Beach, Virginia. A son, Francis, returned about 1650 to try to regain the hereditary title and estates, but he ran afoul of the authorities, fled to Denmark and married there. A son, Morgan, came to America in 1695, married a Dutch woman named Martha Strode, and in 1710 moved from Pennsylvania to Virginia. It is believed that William Bryan of Sperryville is a descendant of this Morgan Bryan.

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liam Bryan, owner of substantial farm and timber lands, had been a God-fearing farmer and soldier;² he had been so active in the local Baptist church that it was often called the Bryan Meeting House. Of his three sons, two succumbed to the lure of the West. The second son, John, stayed at first on the home place. He married Nancy Lillard, of English stock, and reared a family of ten children. He died in 1834. Nancy followed him two years later, and the orphaned Silas decided to go to live with an older sister, Nancy A. Baltzell, in Marion County, in the midst of "Egypt" in Illinois.

Upon reaching Marion County, Silas completed the elementary schooling begun in Virginia and, when eighteen, went to live for a year with a brother, William, who farmed near Troy, Missouri. While there he attended the local academy but, still fired with ambition for education, he entered McKendree College, a Methodist institution at Lebanon, Illinois. He took the classical course and was graduated in 1849. Finding it difficult to make financial ends meet, he was forced to drop out of college from time to time to earn money as a farm hand and wood chopper. He and a friend economized by keeping bachelor quarters in a shack. He soon acquired the meager stock of learning required of a pedagogue and taught school during the latter summers of his college years.

James H. Roberts, who was graduated a year before Silas, remembered the spirit of individualism which animated him, as revealed by the following incident:

Mr. Bryan was a hard student and stood in the front rank of scholarship, but he was a confirmed tobacco chewer. The expectorations of the young men indulging in this habit, especially in the college chapel, drew down on them a sharp rebuke from one of the New England professors who would not be reconciled to this bad Western habit. Bryan regarded it as aimed at him particularly, as it was well known that he stood at the

² For genealogical sketches of the early Bryans see W. A. Crozier, ed., *Virginia County Records* (New York, 1895), I: 12, 18, 85, 129; Mary J. Seymour, *Lineage Book. National Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution* (Washington, 1898), VII: 263; XII: 341; XIX: 1; XXI: 321. A proclamation issued by the governor of North Carolina on July 1, 1776, commissioned William and Samuel Bryan to levy and muster troops to fight against the British.

front, if he were not the very chief offender. The reprimand immediately followed the morning prayer in the chapel service. Thereupon Bryan rose in his place and in a few words vindicated the tobacco habit as almost universal, and said he would not tamely submit to the public reprimand nor the abuse of any man, and especially before the assembled faculty and fellow students, without resenting it. His remarks created consternation among the students, but instead of expulsion, as they had feared, they brought immediate apology from the professor, who admitted that he had spoken sharply, and perhaps without due consideration, and certainly with no intentions of hurting the feelings of Mr. Bryan.³

For two years after graduation Bryan taught in the Walnut Hill School, a dozen miles from Salem, and for two years was elected county superintendent of schools. While engaged in these educational activities, however, he had been studying law. Law and a public career appealed to him more than pedagogy. He was twenty-seven when he was graduated from college and twenty-nine when he was admitted to the bar and began practice in Salem, a promising town on the St. Louis-Vincennes stagecoach route, where two of his sisters lived. The next year, on his thirtieth birthday, he married Mariah Elizabeth Jennings, a former pupil at Walnut Hill, and helped to hew the timbers to build their house. It still stands at 408 South Broadway and is now maintained by the city as a museum. At the same time, probably with the aid of his new in-laws, he was elected to the State Senate.⁴

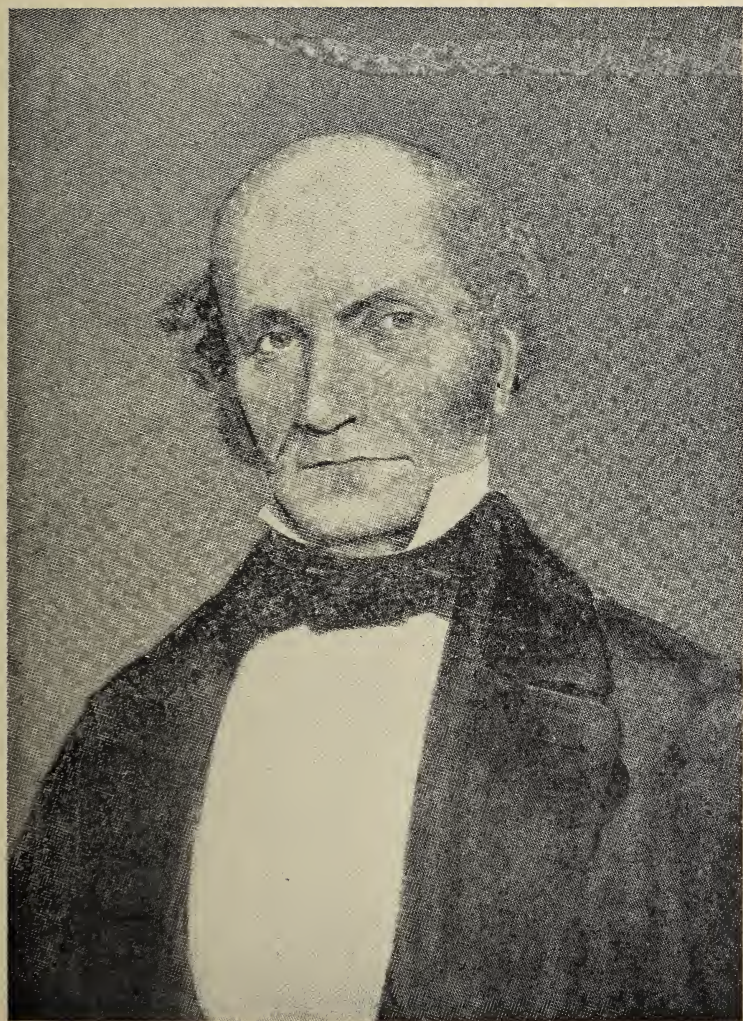
As a member of the Illinois Senate for eight years he saw the crystallization of the issue which provoked the "irrepressible" conflict, saw fellow Democrats torn between contending groups striving for supremacy within the democracy and witnessed the death of the Whig Party and the birth of the Republican Party. He came into contact with Lyman Trumbull, John M. Palmer, Stephen A. Douglas, John A. McClernand, and Abraham Lincoln. In 1854, when Bryan was re-elected,

³ W. C. Walton, *Centennial History of McKendree College* (Lebanon, Ill., 1928), 152. College rates of tuition and living expenses averaged, in Bryan's time, \$80 to \$100 a year.

⁴ This duty did not take too much of his time, for the Constitution of 1848 limited the sessions to forty-two days.



MARIAH ELIZABETH BRYAN



Silas L. Bryan

Lincoln won a seat in the lower house but soon resigned to run for Congress.

National attention from 1854 to 1860 centered heavily upon Illinois, especially during the Lincoln-Douglas Debates. Douglas, with his momentous Kansas-Nebraska Act, drove a wedge into his party which soon split it in half, weakening it in the face of onslaughts of the new Republican Party. Northern Illinois, settled primarily by New England Yankees, accepted Republican infiltration; Egypt, home of the "unterrified democracy," land of "Egyptian darkness" in which still stalked some old-time Whigs, was disputed territory, but it gave Buchanan sufficient Democratic returns in 1856 to overcome the Republican majorities of the northern counties. In that year Illinois elected a Republican governor and a Democratic legislature in which Silas Bryan again resumed his seat.

In the presidential election of 1860 Illinois was one of three key states: the Republicans had to win Pennsylvania and either Illinois or Indiana.⁵ Illinois placed herself in the Republican column for President, voted an entirely Republican ticket into state offices, and destroyed the Democratic control of the legislature. Silas Bryan, having served for eight years in that legislature, itself a house divided as the war approached, failed to be re-elected.

II

The end of Silas Bryan's legislative experience marked the beginning of his judicial career, for he was elected to a six-year term in the Circuit Court. For \$1,000 a year⁶ he had to

⁵ See Reinhard H. Luthin, *The Democratic Split During Buchanan's Administration* (Philadelphia, 1942); Mildred C. Stoler, "The Democratic Element in the New Republican Party, 1856-1860," *Papers in Illinois History and Transactions for the year 1942* (Springfield, 1944), 64; Philip G. Auchampaugh, "The Buchanan-Douglas Feud," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, Vol. XXV, nos. 1-2 (April-July, 1932), 5-48.

⁶ Adlai E. Stevenson, "The Constitutional Conventions and Constitutions of Illinois," *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society for the year 1903* (Springfield, 1904), 25. Fred-eric B. Crossley, *Courts and Lawyers of Illinois* (Chicago, 1916), I: 237, tells that the circuit judges were allowed \$1,000 a year "for suggestions relating to revisions and changes in the laws, which labor of course they did not perform; also . . . were allowed a fee of \$1.00 for each suit filed." Bryan's income at this period, from the law alone, was \$2,000 annually.

ride circuit over six counties, but, together with the returns from his private practice, this income more than sufficed to care for a growing family.

On March 19, 1860, there had been born his most famous son, the fourth of nine children.⁷ He wanted to name the baby William after his brother in Missouri; the mother wanted to call him Jennings after her father. They agreed to call him William Jennings.

Silas Bryan's seat on the bench, a safe place from which to look out upon troubled political waters, did not deter him from active participation in politics nor from making political speeches, in a manner already characterized by a large admixture of Christian morality, on the solution of current issues. On October 28, 1862, for example, he delivered at Salem a speech entitled "An Address . . . on the General Principles of the Government, the President's Emancipation Proclamation, and the Settling of the Negroes in the State of Illinois."⁸ In June, 1863, he was one of forty thousand Democrats who assembled at Springfield to protest the continuation of the war.⁹

With the return of peace the state resumed contemplation of those local issues which had been all but forgotten by submersion in the national crisis, and the Republicans began a crusade to gain ascendancy over the war-time Democratic state organization and to enact Republican "reconstruction" policy, as Cyrus McCormick called it,¹⁰ into law. Illinois was the first state to ratify the Thirteenth Amendment; it was Trumbull who introduced the Freedman's Bureau and the Civil Rights bills in Congress; Illinoisans founded and gave the Grand

⁷ Three children—Virginia, John, and Hiram—died in infancy. William Jennings was the fourth child and eldest living son. The other children were named Charles, Russell, Frances, Nancy, and Mary. The gravestones in the Bryan plot in the Salem cemetery show that Hiram was born Oct. 11, 1862, died July 19, 1863; John was born June 4, 1856, died (illegible); Virginia was born Sept. 8, 1853, died Dec. 26, 1857; Russell was born June 12, 1864, died Aug. 11, 1881; and Nancy L. was born Nov. 4, 1869, died Feb. 3, 1904. Visit by author to Salem, June 9, 1947.

⁸ St. Louis, George Knapp and Co., 1862.

⁹ Paxton Hibben, *The Peerless Leader; William Jennings Bryan* (New York, c1929), 27.

¹⁰ William T. Hutchinson, *Cyrus Hall McCormick: Harvest, 1856-1884* (New York, 1935), II: 309.

Army of the Republic its first commander-in-chief, John M. Palmer. In 1866, the Republicans swamped the Democrats, and Illinois, the old stronghold of Democracy, became, for a generation, a citadel of Republicanism. In the year that his party lost its power, Bryan was re-elected to his judgeship, evidence that Republican strength had not reached down to the local and county elections in Egypt.

In the presidential election of 1868 the efforts of the Democrats proved unavailing and the Republicans and Grant swept the state. This time the the majorities from the northern counties outnumbered the Democratic opposition from Egypt.¹¹ Marion County returns, however, gave Seymour a majority. Except for the ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment by the legislature chosen in 1868, the only other item of particular interest to Silas Bryan was the formal issuance of the call, signed by Governor John M. Palmer, for the constitutional convention provided for by the recent elections. He had been elected to represent the Ninth District. The convention was to convene on the second Monday of December, 1869. Since there was little else of great importance in the off-year elections, except perhaps the Negro suffrage matter, an attempt was made to obtain an equal number of Democratic and Republican delegates for the convention. This was done.¹²

A thorough revision of the constitution of 1848 was badly needed. Silas Bryan recognized as its outstanding defect the authority it conferred upon the legislature to enact private laws. As a result the short sessions were crowded with bills favoring individuals or localities, and this condition invited bribery and corruption, and furnished an additional impediment to the working of the democratic system of government.¹³

¹¹ See Charles Hubert Coleman, *The Election of 1868; the Democratic Effort to Regain Control* (New York, 1933).

¹² Ernest L. Bogart and Charles M. Thompson, *The Industrial State, 1870-1893 (Centennial History of Illinois IV*, Springfield, 1920), 4, list one independent, forty-four Democrats and forty-three Republicans in the convention.

¹³ The session of 1869, for example, required one slim volume of 480 pages to contain general laws and three large volumes of 2,800 pages to contain the private and special laws.

The body of men which met in the old statehouse at Springfield contained only eleven native Illinoisans: five, including Joseph Medill of the *Chicago Tribune*, were naturalized foreign born; the great majority were from older states lying to the south and east. Silas Bryan was one of the three men born in Virginia. Fifty-six of the delegates were lawyers, thirteen were merchants, traders, and bankers, fourteen were farmers.¹⁴ An agreement was reached to refrain from drawing party lines in the organization of the convention.

Silas Bryan played a creditable part in the proceedings. He was appointed to four standing committees, among them the important Executive and Judicial Circuits committees.¹⁵ Early in the convention, on January 10, 1870, he uttered a "ringing protest" against a delegate's declaration that since too much public money was being spent in printing the daily opening prayer in the convention *Journal*, it should be omitted.¹⁶ On January 27, he objected to the great expense the state had incurred over the Illinois-Michigan Canal and suggested that the state be empowered to sell or lease it should it ever decide to do so.¹⁷ State subsidies for public improvements did not fit in with Bryan's tenets of individualism. On February 9, he made a speech which was printed under the title of "The Compensation of Public Officers Should be Regulated by Constitutional Provision."¹⁸ The convention, however, left this matter, as heretofore, to the discretion of the state legislature. Twice in February he presented communications referring to the establishment of public libraries. He introduced a resolution which declared that all offices—legislative, executive, and judicial—should be filled by popular elections.¹⁹ Also, he introduced a resolution to the effect that the new con-

¹⁴ Bogart and Thompson, *Centennial History of Illinois*, IV: 4; John Moses, *Illinois, Historical and Statistical* (Chicago, 1895), II: 788.

¹⁵ *Debates and Proceedings of the Constitutional Convention of the State of Illinois, Convened at the City of Springfield, Tuesday, December 13, 1869* (Springfield, 1870), I: 75.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 139.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 310-12.

¹⁸ This seven-page pamphlet bears no date or place of publication.

¹⁹ *Debates and Proceedings Const. Conv.*, 1869-70, I: 83.

stitution should be offered to the people, for their ratification, one section at a time.²⁰

Thus Silas Bryan proved himself a democrat in the literal sense, espousing a philosophy which, stemming from Jeffersonian days, had surrounded him in the Jacksonian period of his youth and which he carried with him from the mountains of Virginia to the prairies of Illinois.

III

As a man of strong character and integrity, graceful and forcible as a speaker, Silas Bryan had been elected to help make the laws under which his constituents must live, and later to interpret these laws as they were questioned in his neighbors' quarrels. He also led his household in its spiritual as well as in its temporal affairs. He was a member of the Baptist church, to which his parents had belonged, followed the dictates of the Bible in his personal affairs, and allowed them to temper the severity of the worldly justice he dispensed as a judge. As a youth he had gone to a party and caught a cold which developed into pneumonia. His doctor advised him to prepare, but without despair, for the future life, and the sick student prayed as never before and promised to pray three times a day if restored to health.²¹ In later life his devoutness extended to the bench, where he would stop the proceedings at noon in order to pray. He would seek heavenly guidance prior to rendering an important decision, and in his home he kept a family altar.

The Judge had a philosophical mind—broad and tolerant—but was somewhat argumentative. Some seventy-five miles from Salem, in Fairfield, on the edge of Egypt, lived the Borahs. The elder Borah, William N., father of William E.

²⁰ *Debates and Proceedings Const. Conv.*, 1869-70, I: 134-35.

²¹ This is the more common tale. Another version, found in J. H. G. Brinkerhoff, *History of Marion County, Illinois* (Indianapolis, 1909), 413, is that "he promised the Lord if He would prosper him to get through college he would pray three times a day the rest of his life." As told by Hibben, *Peerless Leader*, 17, Bryan is made to fall ill of the food he and his friend prepared in their bachelor shack.

Borah, was a devout Christian, a careful student of the Bible, and a leader in the Presbyterian church. Meeting as often as possible under the prevailing conditions of travel, Borah and Bryan would argue over the Scriptures. Whenever the elder Borah entered the Bryan court the sittings would be adjourned for greetings. Once they started an argument at eight o'clock in the morning, before the court met, edged off to a hotel and continued their debate until five in the afternoon. "We can only guess the nature of the compliments paid to them by the lawyers and litigants who had business at court that day."²²

His decisions reached and blessed by prayer, the Judge could not believe them wrong. One day, just after the Supreme Court had reversed six of his rulings, he was accosted by a Peoria lawyer: "I see, Judge, that the Supreme Court has reversed the Lord in six cases." Without a moment's hesitation the Judge gave his unequivocal retort: "The Supreme Court, sir, is wrong."²³ Rufus Cope (quoted in the *Journal of Illinois State Historical Society* for January, 1913, page 501) wrote:

He was a trial lawyer of recognized ability, who was much addicted to quoting the scriptures in his arguments to the jury, and was accustomed to indulge in extravagant encomiums on the virtues of his own clients. On one occasion, when a jury was deliberating on the penalty they should pronounce against a defendant whom they had found guilty of murder, and on whose virtues Bryan had dwelt at some length, one of the jury remarked: "Well, if he's as good a man as that old baldheaded lawyer says he is, the sooner we give him a hist to the next world, the better," and they decided to give him a "hist."

Examples of the Judge's zealous loyalty to his clients and of his extremely moderate fees are numerous.

When he left the bench after twelve years of service, Bryan delivered a farewell address to the grand jury which sums up his philosophy of life:

I have not grown rich from the spoils of office. During the whole term of twelve years I have received not more than a living. I have never-

²² Claudius O. Johnson, *Borah of Idaho* (New York, 1936), 4.

²³ Hibben, *Peerless Leader*, 34-35; M. R. Werner, *Bryan* (New York, c1929), 4.

theless succeeded reasonably well in the affairs of life and have of the world's goods a reasonable competency, but it has not come to me from office. It has been the result of rigid economy, long and patient professional labor, and the sweat of the face in agricultural pursuits, aided and supported by Heaven's greatest bestowment—an affectionate, confiding and prudential companion—and finally, gentlemen of the jury, I add that the experience of public life has tended to confirm in me the convictions of my early education—that the more we conform our lives and actions, both in private and public relations, to the demands of honor, truth, sincerity, justice, and Christianity, the greater will be our happiness and prosperity, and the better we shall enjoy this present world, and the broader will be the foundation for the enjoyment of the world to come.²⁴

IV

After his retirement from the bench Silas Bryan practiced law in his own and adjoining counties, with occasional trips to St. Louis on legal matters, and earned a reputation as one of the best lawyers in southern Illinois. Associated with him in his office were Michael Schaeffer, from 1857 to 1876, and a nephew, Charles E. Jennings, from 1878 until March, 1880. He continued to engage in politics and to contribute in various ways to the advancement of his community. He proved an exemplar of the man who found the execution of civic responsibilities less onerous than pleasant. Local and visiting politicians were welcome in his home, where a spare bedroom was reserved for both politicians and divines.

The bringing together of these two classes of community leaders illustrated for the Judge's children his contention that service in either field, religion or government, was entirely honorable. William Jennings Bryan saw this clearly. The Judge, he said, "shared Jefferson's confidence in the capacity of the people for self-government as well as in their right to self-government. . . . I have credited him with a definite influence in the shaping of my religious views; I am also indebted to him for the trend of my views on some fundamental ques-

²⁴ William Jennings Bryan, *The Memoirs of William Jennings Bryan, by Himself and His Wife, Mary Baird Bryan* (Philadelphia, c1925), 242.

tions of government, and have seen no reason to depart from the line he marked out."²⁵

To the Judge, too, may be traced some of the personal habits inherited by his most famous son and the formation in him of a nascent morality that hardened as the years went by. Silas gave up the use of tobacco before William was born. He abstained from using liquor. He hated gambling and taught his children that gambling was wrong and that they, too, should hate it. He led an exemplary family life and remained eminently domestic despite his large part in public affairs. His interest in education was inveterate: he gave financial as well as moral support to various institutions of learning; his will provided that all of his children should be encouraged to secure the "highest education" that the generation afforded; he made many speeches on educational topics. And, to a character of sterling worth, he added the ability to get along with people and to take the butt end of jokes with a saving sense of humor.²⁶

V

The roots of his wife's family, like those of the Judge's, went back to the eighteenth century. There was a John Jennings in America as early as 1659, but the first Jennings about whom much information is available is an Israel Jennings, born of English stock about 1784, probably in Maryland. He married a girl named Mary Waters, and in 1819 moved from Maysville, Kentucky, to a farm two miles west of Walnut Hill, Illinois. The third of their eight children, Charles W. Jennings, in December, 1826, married Maria Wood Davidson, of Scotch descent. They had ten children, the fourth among

²⁵ Bryan, *Memoirs*, 25.

²⁶ The story is told that the Judge and his brother Russell, who owned and operated the public scales in Salem and maintained his business by the side of a railroad for thirty years and never took a train ride, went one evening to a distant spot to address an audience in behalf of the candidacy of a relative. Russell liked and drove fast horses; Silas got along with old, slow Ben. When Silas arrived he found the audience dispersed and Russell, alone and disgruntled, waiting for him. "Silas," said Russell, "next trip you put your trust in the Lord and I'll put mine in the horse, and we'll get there on time." Interview with H. T. Sweney, Salem, June 9, 1947.

them being Mariah Elizabeth. Israel Jennings was among the first to purchase cheap government land in Marion County and eventually became a large landowner and a political force. He served several terms in the General Assembly, then meeting at Vandalia.²⁷

Mariah Elizabeth was born on a farm on May 24, 1834, and sat at the feet of pedagogue Bryan when she attended the public school at Walnut Hill. She was tall, straight, upstanding, with brown hair, gray eyes, a large nose, and high cheek bones. She married Silas when she was eighteen. Not as well educated as her husband, she nevertheless discharged her maternal duties in such fashion that "she was as nearly a perfect wife and mother as one could be."²⁸

With the Judge away so much on the circuit, she was left to direct the household and to exercise full control over the children. In addition to fulfilling these duties she somehow found time and energy to give her children the fundamentals of education and to devote herself both to church work and to various local societies for social improvement. Accomplished enough to accompany herself on the piano as she sang, she treated the children to songs of the day and participated as a member of the household choir, which the Judge led in a capable and vigorous tenor. William Jennings remembered his mother singing "When You and I Were Young, Maggie" and "Farewell, Mother, You May Never Press Me to Your Heart Again" to the children as they crowded about the piano in the parlor of the farm home. William himself once wanted to take piano lessons, but the Judge checked this ambition with the suggestion that while the females of the family might study music his sons would learn how to make music on the handsaw.

Silas and Mariah maintained memberships in different

²⁷ Early in his married life a daughter died and Israel had to hew a coffin for her out of a tree trunk. To avoid repetition of the incident he bought himself a metal coffin in St. Louis and kept it in the house for forty years.

²⁸ Bryan, *Memoirs*, 29.

churches for the first twenty years of their married life, but religious harmony prevailed in the home. Each year they invited to dinner all the ministers of Salem, regardless of denomination, and to each sent a load of hay. Mariah's abhorrence of swearing made as deep an impression upon the children as the Judge's admonitions against gambling. William Jennings, for example, would withdraw from his schoolfellows when they began to swear. This aversion to swearing, admittedly a barrier to gregarious intercourse, nevertheless continued throughout his lifetime. William felt indebted equally to his mother and father for good counsel and instruction.

VI

During the Civil War two more children were born to the Bryans and the house on Broadway became overcrowded. To relieve the congestion, and to satisfy his desire to be a country gentleman, the Judge moved the family to a 500-acre farm about a mile northwest of town. Frequently, during the process of construction, Silas Bryan, like Silas Lapham, would drive the family out in his buggy to survey what progress was being made on the homestead. On one of these visits little Willy was allowed to help by carrying a brick, on a shingle as a hod, to the bricklayers.

Originally the estate was a show place of Marion County. "About the time of his election to the judgeship," relates a local history, "he [Silas Bryan] commenced improving a home on a farm near Salem, and succeeded in making it one of the most tasteful homesteads in southern Illinois."²⁰ The house stood on a 120-acre plot approached from the public road by an avenue of cedars and maples a quarter of a mile long. The immense yard which surrounded the ten-room house served as the children's playground. The farm buildings, made of wood, were located to the northwest of the house, and a flower garden bloomed to the southwest. In a large, wooded pasture ad-

²⁰ *History of Marion and Clinton Counties, Illinois* (Philadelphia, 1881), 196.

joining the house to the southeast the Judge kept a fourteen-acre deer park. Three miles away lay an eighty-acre timber tract ideal for hunting. It has been suggested that one of the things Silas remembered from his childhood days in Virginia was the sight of the plantations, with their beautiful mansions, and that he had determined to have a plantation of his own some day, to be a country squire, deer park and all. At the age of forty-four he was able to satisfy that ambition.

The house itself resembled a traditional Virginia plantation mansion. The rooms were large and the ceilings high. Both the outside and inside walls were made of brick. The inside walls, covered first with brown plaster, then with white, were a foot thick. Each room contained a spacious fireplace constructed of special firebrick; wooden cupboards were built into the kitchen quarters. The balustrade on the stairway leading from the central hall to the sleeping rooms above was made of walnut, expertly fashioned and joined into a sturdy object of beauty. The floors were made of pine boards six inches wide. Two outside porches, supported by wooden columns, led off the front rooms on both floors, and a piazza ran along the outside of the kitchen quarters, surrounding the long-handled pump. The furnishings included a piano, then beginning to replace the melodeon and parlor organ in better homes, and the ubiquitous trundle bed in the master bedroom, hidden by day beneath the Judge's canopied walnut bedstead.³⁰

Into this mansion moved the Judge, his wife, and their children—William, Russell, and Frances Maria. Later would come Charles Wayland (recently deceased governor of Nebraska), Nancy Lillard, and Mary Elizabeth. Because the Bryans thought the influence of the home more desirable than

³⁰ Both the house and grounds were in disrepair when visited by the author in the summer of 1947. The exposed woodwork had rotted or fallen away from supporting mortar. Not a single whole pane of glass remained in the tall windows, not an entire outside door. Large holes had been made in several of the outside walls and the plaster had fallen from some of the inside walls. All the fireplaces had caved in. The wooden farm buildings were all but collapsed. Salemites said the house would be torn down and the estate used for a modern housing development.

that of the public schools, Mariah played the part of schoolmistress to her young children. Occasionally, when the children were bad, they would be chastised and tied to a bed post. "My parents," said William Bryan, "believed in the old adage, 'spare the rod and spoil the child,' and as they loved me too well to risk my being spoiled, they punished me."³¹ Years later he commented that his parents were quite strict with him, "and I sometimes considered the boys more fortunate who were given more liberty."³² "Judge Bryan was pretty strict," said William's playmate, Judd Green, "I guess he brought up his boys under closer rules than most of our fathers did."³³ The Judge would see to it personally, on Sundays, that his sons had memorized the catechisms which he brought them as presents when he returned from holding court in distant districts.³⁴

Judge Bryan farmed like a country gentleman. He cultivated only a few acres and rented out the rest of the land, so that the family lived a suburban rather than a farm life, but it meant farm chores to his sons—feeding the deer and helping to care for the stock and chickens. The Judge liked to hunt, with his sons as his usual companions. He gave his boys guns as soon as they could use them and spent many winter evenings with them at home molding bullets and cleaning guns. If the boys went hunting alone, or with friends, and wanted to borrow the buggy, they would first have to carry a certain amount of loose bark which had fallen from the wooden fence surrounding the house and stack it in a neat pile; then the Judge would bring out the buggy.³⁵ To the farm for an evening's entertainment would come a group of boys and girls from town, including the numerous children of the Judge's brother, Russell. The Judge proved an ideal host: both the indoor and

³¹ Bryan, *Memoirs*, 40.

³² *Ibid.*

³³ Hibben, *Peerless Leader*, 31.

³⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵ Interview with H. T. Sweeney, Salem, June 9, 1947.

outdoor games were fun, and the food was good and plentiful.

In addition to his growing family, Silas Bryan gave shelter to a number of his relatives. An elderly saint to his children was Jane Cheney, a sister who had moved from Virginia to Gallipolis, Ohio, when Silas was a boy. Another sister, Martha, had also gone to Gallipolis. When she died there Silas adopted her orphaned daughter, Mollie, and let her share with Mariah the lighter housework and the education of the children. Until her death, Mariah's mother lived in the Bryan home in a room provided for her when the house was built.

Precepts taught and examples set in the home appear more responsible than either the school or church for the formation of the character and attitudes of the Bryan children. Both parents set excellent personal examples, and they taught the children to obey them and to fear God. At noon the approach of the Judge under the row of stately trees leading to the house was a signal for William to come in from the fields for a reading and discussion period based upon the Bible. The Judge would often read from Proverbs, a book he read and re-read because of its wisdom on moral questions. The family prayers conducted by the Judge became to William "one of the sweetest recollections of my boyhood." Late on Sunday afternoons the family would gather about the piano and sing hymns, usually closing with the Judge's choice, "Kind Words Can Never Die." The Judge also read poems to the children, most often his favorite, "Ode to a Waterfowl," by Bryant.

VII

Violent religious emotionalism, although becoming rarer than in earlier times, still continued in emasculated form in camp meetings and revivals. These were held almost everywhere, in the larger cities as well as in the country districts, from the closing weeks of winter until Easter. William Jennings and his older sister, Fanny, made it a practice to attend

these revival meetings and both, while at a Presbyterian church, were converted and decided to become members. They told their father about their decision. The Judge merely said, "You children will have to form opinions of your own. I hope they will be right."³⁶ Neither he nor Mariah objected to their children's affiliation with a church not their own, and it was not until the Judge died that William learned his father had been disappointed in not seeing him a member of the Baptist church.³⁷ Long before his conversion William had voiced an ambition to be a Baptist preacher, but his joining the Presbyterian church is in large part explained by his witnessing an immersion when he went with his father to the Salem Baptist Church. Upon reaching home he asked his father if it would be necessary to be immersed in order to become a Baptist preacher. Silas said yes. "Never afterward," William related, "would I say that I was going to be a Baptist preacher."³⁸

These were years of bitter war between orthodoxy and latitudinarianism.³⁹ The crying need of the times, to many, was some faith to bridge the gap between scientific discoveries and old religious traditions. The sermon of "physical hells, actual devils, bona fide infernos and all sorts of sulphurous horrors" was being avoided by many ministers, but too wide a latitudinarian interpretation could still be charged with heresy.⁴⁰ The Bryans, albeit tolerant in the outward shows of religion, possessed deep and permanent convictions on Christian fundamentals, and to them as well as to his teachers their son William rendered thanks for the fundamentalist leanings which formed so early in him.⁴¹

³⁶ Hibben, *Peerless Leader*, 49.

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ William Jennings Bryan, "The Value of an Ideal," *The Speeches of William Jennings Bryan* (New York, 1909), II: 238.

³⁹ See Arthur M. Schlesinger, "A Critical Period in American Religion, 1875-1890," *Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings*, LXIV: 523-48.

⁴⁰ About the time Silas Bryan moved to the farm three preachers in Chicago alone stood trial for heresy. Ernest Poole, *Giants Gone: Men Who Made Chicago* (New York, 1943), 39-40; Bessie Louise Pierce, *History of Chicago* (New York, 1940), II: 366.

⁴¹ Bryan, *Memoirs*, 51.

VIII

When it came time for his son William to go to college the Judge wanted to send him to William Jewell College, in Liberty, Missouri, a Baptist institution he held in high esteem. Various factors, however, caused a change of mind, and William went instead to Illinois College, in Jacksonville. One of the most important reasons for the selection of Illinois College was the offer of Silas' second cousin, Dr. Hiram K. Jones, of a home for William during his stay in Jacksonville.

Hiram Jones was born in Culpeper County, Virginia, and was a few years older than Silas. His family moved to Troy, Missouri, where Silas' brother farmed and he himself spent a year. After his graduation from Illinois College he went on to get an M.A. and an M.D. He lived in Jacksonville, practicing medicine, from the early 1850's until his death in 1900. At the College he first offered medical courses, but from 1885 to 1900 he taught philosophy. He was a great admirer, student, and popularizer of Plato. Unknown to him, Judge Bryan paid Mrs. Jones for William's board for his six years at school, and it was in his home that the Judge died.

When William left Salem for Jacksonville in September, 1875, the Judge gave him a Greek lexicon and a Latin lexicon, two of the largest books in the library, and told him that he would use the former for six years and the latter for five. And so it happened, for the classical curriculum had changed little since the Judge's days at McKendree. He told William that he could furnish only what money was actually needed, that he could not afford fads, frills, or waste, and suggested that an account of expenditures be kept and reports rendered when he wrote home for money. To this William agreed. An entry of "forty cents for [shoe] blacking, bay rum, etc." in William's account book, followed by one of "to the church, five cents," elicited from the Judge the comment that his son seemed to be traveling toward the Dead Sea pretty fast.

Near the end of his first year at college, William, who was growing rapidly, noticed that his trousers were too short and wrote home for a new pair in which to appear more presentable at church sociables. His father answered that with vacation time so close at hand it would be better to wait and purchase them when he came home, adding, "you might as well learn now that people will measure you by the length of your head and not by the length of your breeches."⁴²

While William lived at home the Judge would take him on trips to the courts in which he had business. Frequent visits were made to Monroe County. Joseph W. Rickert, later dean of lawyers at Waterloo, Illinois, remembered the pair at this time. The son was as "modest and retiring as the father was striking and picturesque." "Enwrapped in an old-fashioned mantle, an unusually high, well-worn stovepipe hat upon his head, his feet encased in buffalo shoes, he [the Judge] greeted the members of the bar, approached the bench, and kneeling a moment in silent prayer, arose and directed the sheriff to open court."⁴³ Rickert had been given his bar examination by Judge Bryan in 1869. He had been told to appear at a certain tavern at eight o'clock one evening.

When he arrived, Bryan and two cronies were swapping yarns which they continued to do for the next two hours, seeming to take no notice of the young man who nervously kept his silence in the back of the room. Finally Bryan raised his eyes and looked at Rickert as if seeing him for the first time. Running his hand over his bald head, he yawned: "Well, Mr. Rickert, it's been a long day and I've got a little headache. . . . I know you've got the knowledge. You just get your certificate of a good moral character, and I'll send in your recommendation to the court."⁴⁴

The passing seasons failed to dull the Judge's wit. After two years at college and many summers on the farm, his son William had developed physically into a man. He wanted to be like his father, six feet tall, and to weigh one hundred and

⁴² Bryan, *Memoirs*, 55.

⁴³ Ann Steinbrecher, "Joseph W. Rickert," *Jour. Ill. State Hist. Soc.*, Vol. XXIX, no. 4 (Jan. 1937), 361.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 361-62.

eighty pounds. In the summer of 1877 he was as tall as the Judge; his father weighed one hundred and fifty-four pounds and William one hundred and fifty. "I shall soon be as heavy as you are," said the son. "When you have four more pounds of brains," countered the father, "we will weigh the same."⁴⁵

IX

Silas Bryan had given freely of his strength, time, intellect, and money to advancing the cause of education, to the making of laws and constitutions, and to the judging of his neighbors' quarrels. He had succeeded during his life time in providing his children with the material necessities and, by example and precept, in instilling in them what he believed to be the correct attitudes they should possess in relation to God and their fellow men. He left an estate capable of meeting the cost of the "highest education" the generation afforded for his children.

He had begun to suffer from diabetes and dyspepsia in middle age. Indisposed during the early months of 1880, he had gone to Dr. Jones' at Jacksonville, where he could receive medical treatment and visit with William at the same time. He was all right on Sunday, March 28, but on Monday morning Dr. Jones found him unconscious in his bed as a result of having suffered a paralytic stroke during the night. He was in his fifty-eighth year. Mariah, hurriedly summoned, arrived within a half-hour of her husband's death, and on the next day she and William accompanied the body to Salem.

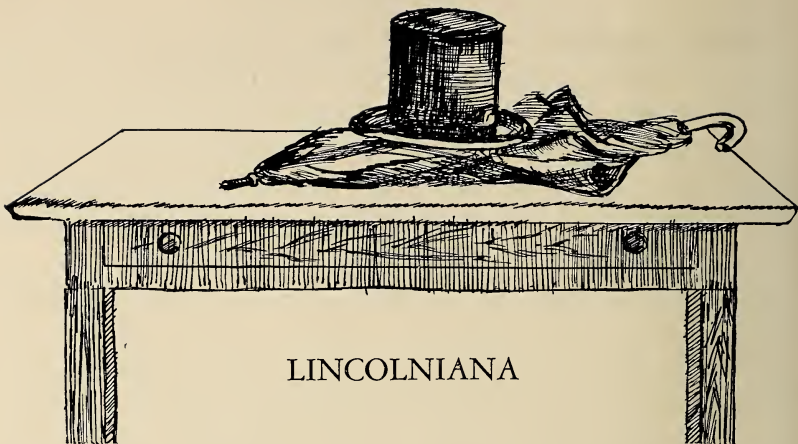
Local newspaper accounts, bordered in black, said, "Marion County's Calamity. One of Her Noblest Citizens and Greatest Benefactors Gone. A Death that Casts a Gloom over All Southern Illinois." At about ten o'clock on Tuesday evening, March 30, a large gathering of people reverently followed the remains from the depot to the Bryan homestead. At ten o'clock on Thursday morning, April 1, the body was

⁴⁵ Bryan, *Memoirs*, 56.

brought to the courthouse, where it lay in state until time for the religious ceremonies. With the city council present, all business houses closed and all the town's church bells ringing, the elegant casket was borne to the Cumberland Presbyterian Church. Before his death the Judge had chosen the Psalm, text for the sermon, and hymns which would comprise the funeral rites. Soon thereafter the casket, bearing a silver plate inscribed "Our Father, Silas Lillard Bryan," was lowered into the Bryan plot in the cemetery.

Mariah Bryan outlived her husband by sixteen years. After the Judge's death she, with the oldest child twenty-two and the youngest ten, carried on, with William's advice and counsel, until all her children were grown. After the breakup of the estate she moved back into Salem to live in a house purchased for her by William. Had she lived another month she would have seen him nominated for the presidency.





LINCOLNIANA

AUTOGRAPHS—REAL AND FORGED

Signatures of Abraham Lincoln are always salable. They are more plentiful than many other autographs but the demand holds up the price. Many people will give \$25 for a Lincoln signature and brief notes fetch more. During times of prosperity most autographs inflate in value like other goods but Lincoln signatures have proved an exception, at the present time at least. In fact they are not so high priced today as they were ten or fifteen years ago. The decline seems to be due to the supply.

During the depression many workers combed old courthouse and county records in central Illinois. Lincoln signatures were clipped, hoarded, and eventually sold. This, in all probability, has caused the surplus which holds down the market, but a Lincoln signature is still good property.

A few men have skillfully forged Lincoln's name. Some have tried

this deception for fun but most forgers practice the deception for gain. It is possible to forge Lincoln's name so deftly that experts may be fooled, but most forgeries are easily detected. The color of the ink used and the quality of the paper help indicate a fraud.

Often the formation of the letters in a counterfeit signature has a spurious appearance. A forger is apt to over-emphasize certain peculiarities in Lincoln's writing. Occasionally a dishonest man traces a genuine signature instead of trying to imitate it. This is easily done by placing a sheet of paper over the genuine signature and then holding the two sheets before a light. The signature shows through the translucent paper and may be traced readily, but such forgeries are very easily detected. A magnification of the tracing discloses the tediously drawn and overwritten pen strokes.



trenched lines into a fortified city.

2

Yours truly,
A. Lincoln

6 per cent, till paid.

3

A. Lincoln

Abraham Lincoln

4

A. Lincoln

5

Dec. 15, 1851

CAN YOU DETECT THE LINCOLN FORGERIES?

Write "true" or "false" beside your selections in this group of five signatures. If you have difficulty in separating the sheep from the goats perhaps the enlargements on the next page will help you.

1 A. Lincoln

2 A. Lincoln

3 A. Lincoln

4 Abraham Lincoln

5 A. Lincoln

THROUGH A MAGNIFYING GLASS

Do the enlargements change your opinions? Without turning back label these signatures "true" or "false," and if you are still uncertain turn to page 108 for the answers.

This cramped "copy look" may be hidden by writing on worn paper that absorbs the ink. Such so-called "furry" signatures are always suspect.

As a rule forged letters are short. The longer the letter the more likely the forger is to give himself away. It is always easier to imitate a line of Lincoln's writing than a page of it. In long letters a forger must imitate Lincoln's style as well as his handwriting, and most men capable of doing this can make a good living without forging.

The little volumes commonly known as "Lincoln: Day by Day" serve as another check on Lincoln forgeries. This careful study, published by the Abraham Lincoln Association, gives the itinerary of Lincoln's life for many years. The date and address on any new Lincoln letter must correspond with Lincoln's known whereabouts or be subject to immediate suspicion. Moreover, there are in the United States today only about a dozen scholars sufficiently learned in Lincoln lore to be able to write a letter containing the intimate political details which Lincoln would write at a given time. An error in these details exposes a fraudulent letter at once.

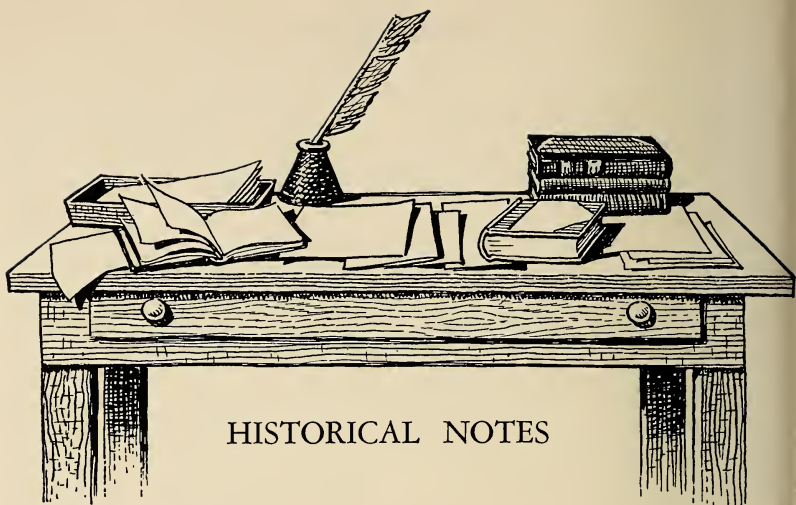
Some fifteen or twenty years ago a number of forged Lincoln signatures appeared on sheet music, old maps, and rare books. They were in the possession of an old man named William Brown who claim-

ed to have been Mrs. Lincoln's coachman. Careful investigation failed to prove that Brown had ever been a coachman for Mrs. Lincoln. Experts also pronounced the signatures false and pointed out that Lincoln did not write his name on books, map margins, and sheet music. The old coachman seems to have been a fence for the forger whose name will not be disclosed in these pages as he was never legally convicted.

One of the shrewdest Lincoln forgers went by the alias of Joseph Cosey five or six years ago. He was an itinerant printer from Iowa who found a congenial environment in the New York Bowery. Cosey made it a point never to sell his forgeries as Lincoln letters. Instead he took his goods to autograph collectors and said, "I found these in an old trunk. What'll you give me for them?"

Shrewd collectors, looking for a bargain, spied what appeared to be Lincoln's writing and often purchased the papers with alacrity. Cosey was arrested a time or two and taken into court with his forged letters, trick pens, and nutgall ink, but there is no law against writing Lincoln's name and no one could prove that Cosey ever took money under the false pretense that his handiwork was Lincoln's. "I impose only on greed," he admitted blandly.

JAY MONAGHAN



HISTORICAL NOTES

LETTERS HOME FROM '49ERS

The Argonauts who traveled overland to California a hundred years ago are often thought of as grim and determined men. Their experience was epic but we are likely to forget that many—perhaps most—of the gold seekers were young men or boys. Extreme youthfulness is apparent in the following letters from Charles Wells, and William and Salmon B. Lusk to Squire John C. Bagby, a lawyer in Rushville, Illinois. The first letter takes the form of a dialogue from Charles and Will. Some changes have been made in punctuation so that the letters may be more intelligible but the original spelling has been preserved—these Argonauts wrote “according to nature.”

FEATHER RIVER MINES
CALIFORNIA
DECEMBER 10TH 1849

MY DEAR FRIEND

Did you ever decipher hieroglyphics? If So, will you undertake this; and while you are endeavoring to bring the ideas into some tangible form, remember, if you please, that the writer is in California, unaccustomed to the use of the pen, and whare ideas flow so slowly that before the second is out the first is forgotten. Think of this and pardon me while you pass over

the many mistakes that you will no doubt find.

It is not my intention to commence at the beginning of our journey and give you a full detail of the many hair breadth escapes and adventures that we passed through on our way here; for that would take more time and room than I have got to spare. I shall therefore reserve them until I get home and then while enjoying the comfort which can only be found at home I shall relate them to my Wife and family.

Our trip was any thing but a pleasant one: But there were times when we enjoyed ourselves as well as could be expected for those who were living a bachelor life and far removed from all the pleasures to be derived from the society of the fair sex. We were led by our Captain through all cutoffs until we made our road almost as long again as it need to have been; Yet we have arrived safe at the promised land. But one death occurred in our train. That was Squire Lane. He was sick almost from the time we left the Missouri River. He died on Pitt Platte] River. There was some other sickness besides, generally camp fever.

We came in to the valley on the fourteenth of Oct. and in to the mines on the twentyeth. I shall not tell you the amount of provision that we brought into the mines. But you can judge for yourself. We started with provisions for six months and were seven months on the road.

We came through the City of the Great Salt Lake (as it is called by the Mormons) on the twenty-fifth of July. You are no doubt well aware of the standing and character which the Mormons held while in the States. They are still the same. I had almost begun telling some of our adventures while here. But as I have promised Wm. Lusk not to say anything about his getting lost in a cornfield while in the company of a pretty and not minding his way out until the next morning I will not do it.

I wish that I could describe our mining operations so that you could understand them. But that is impossible. Unless you had been in Gold mines before you could not understand me. While washing we

use a machine called a cradle. I am getting to be very expert in rocking it. So much so that if I ever *have need* of a cradle at home I will not have to learn again.

The Rushville boys are now scattered all over California. But few of them are in these mines. Mr. Tolles is here. He and his boys have done well. Simon Doyle in [is] camped along side Mr. T. Price is the same as ever. We have a good deal of fun out of him. Half of the time he has the blues and the balance he is love sick. Yet a better hearted fellow never lived. Clay Rodgers is still in the same mess with me. Lusk and Weeden also.

Mullain came down last week from the upper mines, he has had a long spell of sickness. We accompanied him up into the mountains for the purpose of discovering a richer place to work than we have hitherto had. On our way up we found the snow above a foot deep. We also had the pleasure of being shot at by an Indian. The arrow passed over our heads doing no other injury than frightening us a good deal.

One thing I must not forget to tell you is that on leaving Rushville I forget to pay you for my card of withdrawel from Enterprise Division. However, if you bear it in mind when I return I will pay both principle and interest. Among the many regrets that I had on leaving Rushville my withdrawel from the Sons of Temperance was not the least. I shall never forget the pleasure with which I used to hail each evening [which brought] us again together, a band of brothers in the same cause. Will you give them my best wishes and bid them God speed.

Do you remember that as we left

town I requested you to take good care of a certain person until my return. You recollect who that person is. When you answer this tell me everything about you and Cousin Mary & ———. Wm Lusk requested me to let him finish the sheet so I shall have to quit. Direct your answer to Sacramento City, and I will get it. I have not yet heard from home. Give my love to all the Ladies and remember me to the boys and believe me

to be your sincere friend

CHARLES WELLS

DEAR JOHN C. BAGBY ESQ

I requested a place for a few words in this sheet, but as Charles forbids me to look at what he has written I conclude that he has told all and more, too, and consequently I had a half a notion to tell you of the bear that Charles frightened to death back in the Mts. He ran one way and the bear the other. Charles says that he thinks the bear had the Roughest road and he very nearly killed himself and he is quite certain the bear did. But I must close as the next page is not ruled.

Give my love to all friends

WILLIAM W. LUSK

Since letting Bill write the foregoing I have found that he has taken advantage of my permission and hit me rather hard to pay me for bringing him into the cornfield scrape. All that I can say in justification of myself is that the Bear retreated

first leaving me in possession of the field. I considered that I had already won glory enough by running him, therefore did not follow for fear I should loose what I had already obtained.

But to justify himself he can say nothing. Had he not been out the second night and a guard detailed for the purpose had to bring him in to camp by force when he stated his intention of staying at Salt Lake all winter I should not have thought so much of it. I shall say nothing about Miss Hatch giving him the mitten on the road because he was an ox drivr nor about it making him sick

Yours

C. WELLS L. P. F.

DEAR SIR: Charles, I find, has made a beautiful fist of it in paying me for the bear story, as he is pleased to term it. He had won glory (in a horn) enough when, as he says, he did not follow the bear. You would have thought so had you seen the kinks in his naturally curly hair all nicely *straightened* out and standing Erect like Porcupine quills. Well enough he concludes to say nothing of the Cornfield and the especial guard or the mitten given by a young lady which, if she exists, have not had the pleasure of seeing &c. as he knows better. But as Charles wishes me to say nothing of the Mormon Spiritual wife he took, and wanted to bring through I will close. Yours

WM LUSK

The second letter is from Wm. Lusk. Addressed for mailing to "My Christian friend, John C. Bagby, Rushville, Schuyler County, Ill's," the original letter paper was folded, sealed with wax, and sent, according to the custom of the day, without an envelope. John Bagby's father, a well-to-do merchant and farmer, preached in the Rushville Christian Church

The family came from Kentucky where the elder Bagby had been impressed by the teachings of Alexander Campbell. This accounts for the unusual address. About the time of the receipt of this letter John Bagby was planning to marry Mary Scripps, sister of John Locke Scripps, later famous for his biography of Abraham Lincoln.

UPPER FEATHER RIVER
SUNDAY FEB. 17TH. /50

DEAR FRIEND

Having time and opportunity for sending by private hand, I hasten to lay before you such news as may come first. And as I suppose that you would like to know how we all are and what we are doing. All hands are well so far as I am able [to] learn. George Garrett has made his pile and is bound for home and is the bearer of this. Three of the company are dead since we left home (Including Lane) Mrs. Rook, Tho's McCown, Also Alex McCormack. No others that I am aware of. Manlove Taylors, Dickson's, Doyles, and Weeden, Wells, & myself of our mess are all operating on the Middle fork of Feather River. McHattons mess are on the South fork. Also, Tolles & sons. All are doing well. This is all the news respecting the company.

Three men were drowned at Bidwells bar¹ on yesterday the 16th whilst attempting to cross the river. (All Strangers). Many letterwriters from this country Represent the state of society here as being much worse than it really Exists. They represent this country as being overrun with murderers, thieves, assassins &c. And that vices of the most abandoned character & crimes of the blackest dye are daily occurrence[s]. But such is

not the case (Except [that] vermin are killed by the quantity).

I have now given you the general news. How we are. How we are doing and what are our prospects. I will now give you our destination. Many, if not more, are bound for home as soon as possible to make a raise of the needful. And thence, as soon as possible to obtain a passage, they expect to emigrate. Tired of a life in which there is no female society or influence they have determined to emigrate to & settle in a state where they can enjoy more of the Sweets and feel more of the influence of female society than in any other in the union. A state whose laws are the very essence of our federal compact, whose boundaries though small is capable of containing and sustaining the greatest amount of population of any state in the union. Tell the girls to look sharp the boys are all bound for the state above mentioned. Viz M a t r i m o n y.

As for Charley [Wells] he tells me that he is going to take a squaw out of spite because the girls are all marrying old widowers. The hea'th I had forgot to say was very good. Give my best respects to all the friends and accept

assurances of the
most profound Respect
And oblige Yours
WM W. LUSK
F L T

¹ John Bidwell was a prominent pioneer. He went to California in 1841 and was the candidate for President on the Prohibition ticket in 1892.

The third letter is from Salmon P. Lusk, who married a sister of John C. Bagby's and followed his own brother, Will, to California. Salmon's letter describes some of the uncertainties of plains travel. The Mary referred to in the concluding sentence is Mary Scripps Bagby. Salmon's wife, Elizabeth, did not live long and he married again in California. In 1876 he wrote to Bagby asking his onetime brother-in-law, then a congressman, to get him an appointment in the Indian service. John C. Bagby's son, A. M. Bagby, became a cosmopolitan socialite, dividing his time between New York and Europe. At the turn of the nineteenth century his musicales in the Waldorf-Astoria attracted music lovers throughout the world of fashion.

MIDDLE FORK

FEATHER RIVER A ::9 [1850?]

SIR JOHN C. BAGBY:

You are one of the first that have the trouble of lifting a Scratch from me and from the way I write you may know that it gratifies me to think that I have had so pleasant a trip.

We had no diffculty except our horses got away four times. Twice they were gone one day each time. This was on platt River and sweet water. The third time they took a stampeed on big sandy² [and] they were gone five days. They took fright at some indian dogs. They crossed the desert on Sublets cut off (this leaves Salt lake to the left) toward the head of green Rive[r] [and] went some hundred [about forty-three] miles before they reached water the next morning. C. Dawson, a raw hoosier, and your Servant started. Dawson had some eight or nine [horses with the run-aways] with thin. We had a horse each and one blanket to rid[e] on, and six crackers. We thought that we would get them in one half day and would not need any more. We followed them forty-eight hours

[and] com[e] in weak as water. Our horses almost famished for water. Hired an indian [and] told [him] where he would find the trail. He started and was gone just the same length of time and brought them in, hitched up and mad[e] them go fifty-three miles that night.

Here on this post we found game plenty and you had better believe I had plenty of Antelope. This road has many curiosites. But [best?] of all [are] the Soda Springs, and also the Steamboat Springs [in present-day Idaho]. The soda is just as good as it can be.³ These are on bear river within two feet of the waters edge and seem to come streight out of the ground. The tube looks like a craw fish hole and the [water] boils up and is of a reddish cast. And near this is a beautiful Indian village of the snake tribe. About fifty yds from this city is the Steamboat Springs. One is clear as crystal while the other is as muddy as clay can make it. The first comes out as large as your thigh, jumps about two feet high, rather warm, and the taste is like Still Slop. It is on a bank about

² Little and Big Sandy were the first streams crossed west of the Great Divide.

³ Overland travelers often put peppermint syrup in this soda water for their children.

two feet high and within two feet of the river.⁴ This [is] the way the Spring line goes off—

On we go, travel down Humboldt [River]. See Lanes Robertsons grave, all in good order. See no diggers.⁵ Cross the great Desert, no trouble. Got in Carson River valley. Stayed a day, went on in to the Carson valley. This [is] one of the most beautiful vallies I ever saw, it has a gradual Slant from the Mountains to the river and every half mile there is a beautiful Spring, just as cold as ice and as clear as it can be. The grass is fine and timber good. There is a few settlers in this valley. Here we strike the Sirenevada Mts. . . . We got over this safe and got in H[an]gtown [Placerville, California] on the twenty-seventh of July.

John Lambert and lady are there, keeping a house for a man for one hundred and twenty five Dollars per month. Henry is in Sacramento—I see John Midy, Doc Shober—John says if you were here you would do well for they are hell to law here. This town is in branch vally, forty feet wide, and the houses are shanties of the roughest kind. The streets are about ten feet wide and as crooked as a dogs hind leg.

We then went to Sacramento. This is a beautiful city, well laid off and a good site. I see wood [and] D. Brown, they are doing well. I see a number of others that I know. We then went up to Marysville. This is a beautiful city and improves fine and has some of the finest Gaming sullons and Misses Parlors, these are plenty.

We then moved up to Bills where I found him busy as a bee. They had just got to work at their claim.

Saturday they washed out two hundred and fifty \$. To day they washed one forty. The Shares are eight, and share holders are Simon Doyle, Manvill Doyle, John Nelson, and Bill, the rest are Strangers. The other boys are above this on Kinacka Bar. H. Taylor is three miles from here on the north fork. I see him. He looks bad. Clay R is up on the same River twenty miles above Taylors. Tell old witt Newt is well. Charly went up to Chasty [Shasta] mines about two or three hundred miles above this and the boys have not heard from him since he went up. It has been near a year.

Money is quite plenty and ten or twenty is no money at all. We get one meal [for] one Dollar. This is in the mines, the city fare is fifty cts, lod[g]ing fifty cents. This is the contry for melons, they are worth less than in the states. As for barley, this is the place for it. I see fields that will yield one hundred bushels and this was the third crop without sowing. They plough and harrow it in and let her go. It [is] worth four cts in the city, ten to fifteen in the mines.

I shall work a month for the boys, until I get my hand in at one hundred. I may be down on this river some twenty-three miles, but, if you write, write to Bidwells Bar, Butte Couty. Kiss Mary and fanny and whip that negro for me, and tell Mary to give my love to your ma and all Enquiring friends and take a liberal Share for your Selves

Yours in truth

S B Lusk

write Soon and give the particulars and write according to nature and I will understand it

⁴ It is now submerged in a reservoir.

⁵ Digger Indians contributed to the Donner tragedy in 1846 by killing the party's work cattle.



THE ILLINOIS SCRAPBOOK

"PRETTIEST SITE" IN THE STATE

One day I lingered at Nauvoo, for I had long been curious to see this old stronghold of the Mormons. Their elders are never weary of telling the people that it is now a ruin, desolate as Tyre or Babylon. I found it a beautiful town of some 3,000 people. It has the prettiest site in Illinois. The river makes a bend westward nearly in the shape of a U; the point in the lower part is a mile wide, and lies just high enough above the river for commercial convenience; and thence the hill rises by gentle slopes for two miles eastward.

At the upper end of the flat on the river is a splendid steam-boat landing, and about half way around the bend the rapids begin, giving a fine front for manufacturing purposes. Here the Mormons had projected a row of cotton mills; they were to bring the cotton up the river, and with their own operatives, converted from the workshops of England, build up a great manufacturing community. Could they have maintained peace with their neighbors, they would have had some fifteen years to perfect this scheme before the railroad era superseded river transportation, and Nauvoo would have had too great a start for the tide to turn. They and their apologists of course maintain that the Gentiles were altogether to blame for the breaking up of these fine schemes; but when a man moves six or seven times, and quarrels with the neighbors every time, as they did, I am inclined to conclude that he takes the worst neighbor along with him every move.

After the Mormons came the Icarians, a curious but harmless set of visionaries. It was the era when communistic experiments were in operation all over the country—the era immediately succeeding "Brook Farm,"

Communia, and Robert Owen's New Harmony Society. The Icarians, under the lead of M. Cabet, wore a uniform, had all things in common, and worked in detailed squads. But when one man, or an executive board, has to choose what work every other man shall do, it soon appears a most unnatural system as opposed to "natural selection." Here was to be seen a former college professor herding swine; there a Paris goldsmith driving oxen, and a well-known scholar, crack-brained on socialistic theories, was made assistant sawyer at the society's mill. It cured him, however.

The Icarians failed, of course, and were in due time succeeded by a colony of Bavarians and Westphalians, who have made a great success of the wine manufacture. Where the great Mormon temple once stood is now a fine vineyard, and not one of the original stones remains. Three of the neighboring houses are built entirely of the beautiful white rock, and the rest has made walls and foundations all over town. This wonderful structure cost between a half and three-quarters of a million dollars in money and labor, and the Icarians had proposed to fit it up as a social hall and school-room. But at 2 A.M. of November 10, 1848, [Oct. 9, 1848] it was found to be on fire, and before daylight every particle of woodwork was destroyed. It was set on fire in the third story of the steeple, one hundred and forty feet from the ground. The dry pine burned like tinder; there was no mode of reaching the fire, and in twenty minutes the whole wooden interior was a mass of flames. In two hours nothing remained but hot walls, inclosing a bed of embers. At Montrose and Fort Madison, Iowa, they could distinguish every house in Nauvoo, and the light was seen forty miles around. . . .

The walls long stood in such perfect preservation that the citizens determined again to refit it for an academy. But in November, 1850, [May 27, 1850] a fearful hurricane swept down the river, and threw down most of the structure. From the deck of a Mississippi steamer Nauvoo, which once had fourteen thousand inhabitants, now looks like a suburb of retired country seats, stretching for two or three miles up a handsome slope; and thousands yearly pass on the river admiring the rural beauty of the place, but little thinking that a third of a century since it was the largest city in Illinois, and the most notorious 'in America, the chosen stronghold of a most peculiar faith and destined capital of a vast religious empire.

J. H. BEADLE, *Western Wilds, and the Men Who Redeem Them*. . . (Cincinnati, c1879), 374-76.

PRAIRIE SOD BY THE MILLIONS OF SPADESFUL

It was near Lanark that I first caught a real glimpse of the Prairie. We have all laughed, or by this time ceased laughing, at the story of the Irishman who brought a brick from the Pyramids, to show his friends what the Pyramids were like. Yet I know not that the Prairie could be described better, to those who have never seen it, than by bringing home a spadeful of prairie-sod, and telling the spectators to multiply that sod in their minds by any multiple of millions they choose to fix upon. In truth, there is nothing to describe about the prairie except its vastness, and that is indescribable.

I suppose most of us in our lifetime have dreamt a dream that we were wandering on a vast boundless moor, seeking for something aimlessly, and that in this dreary search after we knew not what, we wandered from slope to slope, and still the moor stretched before us, endless and unbounded. Such a dream I, for my part, remember dreaming years ago; and as I drove for a mile-long drive across the prairies of Northern Illinois, it seemed to me that the dream had come true at last.

East, west, north, and south—on the right hand and on the left—in front and behind, stretched the broken woodless upland. Underneath the foot a springy turf, covered with scentless violets and wild prairie roses; overhead a bright cloudless sky, whence the sun shot down beams that would have scorched up the soil long ago but for the fresh soft prairie-breeze blowing from across the Rocky Mountains; low grassy slopes on every side, looking like waves of turf rising and falling gently. Not a tree to be seen in the far distance; not a house in sight far or near; not a drove of sheep or a herd of cattle; no sign of life except the dun-coloured prairie chickens whirring through the heather as we drove along—nothing but the broken woodless upland.

So we passed on, coming from time to time upon some break in the monotony of the vast dreamlike solitude. Sometimes it was a prairie stream, running clear as crystal between its low sedgy banks, through which our horses forded knee-deep, and then again the broken woodless upland; sometimes it was a lone Irish shanty, knocked up roughly with planks and logs, and wearing a look as though it had been built by shipwrecked settlers, stranded on the shore of the prairie sea. Farther on we came upon a herd of half-wild horses, who, as we approached, dashed away in a wild stampede; then upon a knot of trees, whose seeds had been wafted from the distant forests, and taken root kindly on the rich prairie soil; now upon an emigrant's team, with the women and children under the canvas awning, and the red-shirted and brigand-looking miners at its

side, travelling across the prairie in search of the land of gold; and then again the silent solitude and the broken woodless upland.

These scanty breaks, however, in the monotony of the scene, were signs of the approach of civilization—warnings, as it were, that the days of the Lanark Prairie are well-nigh numbered. The railroad in which my companions were interested went right through the heart of the district. To my English ideas, the line looked like the realization of the famous railroad which went from nowhere in general to nowhere in particular. But American experience has amply proved that a railroad in the Far West creates its own constituency. In three or four years time the prairie over which I travelled will be enclosed; the rich soil will be turned up, and bring forth endless crops of wheat till, as a settler told me, the wide expanse looks at harvest-time like a golden carpet; and large towns may very likely be raised on the spot where the Irish shanties stood when I passed. Every year the traveller in search of the prairie has to go further and further west; but its extent is still so vast, that generations, perhaps centuries, must pass away before it becomes a matter of tradition.

Settlers in the country tell one that it is necessary to live for some time upon the prairie-land in order to feel its charm, and that, when its charm is once felt, all other scenery grows tame. It may be so. I believe, without understanding it, that there are people who grow to love the sea, and feel a delight in seeing nothing but the wide expanse of the ocean round them for days, and weeks, and months together: so, for some minds, the endless sameness of the prairie may possess a strange attraction. For my own part, the sense of boundless vastness hanging over the scene was rather overpowering than impressive, and I plead guilty to a feeling of relief when we got out of the open land into the tilled fields and green woods, and cheerful villages which spread along the banks of the Mississippi river.

EDWARD DICEY, *Six Months in the Federal States* (London, 1863), II: 142-46.

A TEMPERAMENTAL STEAMBOAT

We reached Alton at 8 o'clock. The bell rang when we were within 100 yards of the shore, and the boat was in one of her spasms, which the captain calculated would lay him alongside in gallant style. But alas! spasmodic action is no more to be relied on in boat nature than human. On we came, the waters quite whitening in our wake, and making, as the delighted Mrs. Raddle observed on another occasion, "acterally more noise" than if we had come in a better boat, for the engine creaked and

hissed at every joint, and the escape-pipe disgorged itself about thrice a minute with a dismal hollow sound, as if its vitals were breaking up. We nearly touched the shore, the captain stood in his ruffles, silk-hose, pumps and gloves, the passengers waited, valises and trunks in hand, ready to jump ashore, and two or three were gathered at the waterside shaking hands with their friends, and exchanging the usual ceremonies, when, oh, most inglorious spectacle! the spasm ended, the boat rolled over on the other side, threw the captain across a stool, and the passengers among barrels, et cet., and lay motionless for several moments. . . .

The bell rang, the wheels revolved backward, and all the numerous mysteries were duly performed again, but now the boat refused to approach the shore. She would come up obediently to within a few feet, but the nicest calculation and the most delicate persuasion could take her no nearer. At each failure she was obliged to turn quite round, and each evolution took her half-way across the stream, and consumed nearly half an hour. No petted child ever conducted herself in a more refractory manner before company, than she before the astonished eyes of the goodly citizens of Alton. Every prank deepened the tint of our captain's hair, whiskers, and face, and was made the occasion of as many jokes as could be uttered till another followed.

"She shows off admirably, captain; nothing could be more fortunate."

"If you could throw her into a fit just before she backs water, she'd be sure to come up."

"If she refuses again, you may as well go on; may be she'll come to her temper at the next landing."

"The wood will be out soon, and then she'll certainly float ashore somewhere." . . .

The poor captain became more and more perplexed every moment, and actually went so far as to remove one of his gloves. The people on shore cheered the last two evolutions, and the whole thing had reached the climax of the ridiculous, when, by a fortunate guess on the part of some one, the boat was at last brought alongside the shore, just one hour and a half from the time of the first attempt.

ELIZA W. FARNHAM, *Life in
Prairie Land* (1847), 26-28.

THE 124TH ILLINOIS INFANTRY IN DIXIE

October 9th, [1862] at 3 A.M., found us at Jackson, Tennessee, a thoroughly "secesh" town, well laid out, and beautifully embowered, though rather dingy, and showing the effects of war. We marched about a mile east of the town, into a beautiful skirt of timber, and were told that was to be our camp—our first home in "Dixie."

We attracted a good deal of attention from our numbers, and were frequently called "a young brigade," by the soldiers we met, whose ranks had been sadly depleted by their past service. So far we had all our men in line. Not a detail had been made except by disease. But we soon learned what assignments and details could do in reducing numbers.

Our location was lovely. The timber was the chestnut and the majestic southern poplar, or tulip tree—*Siriodendron tulipifera*. The foliage, as yet untouched by frost, was heavy, entirely shutting out the sun. The ground was very even, and broom sage for bedding abundant. We never found a more delightful camp, in many respects, than this our first one. . . .

Toward the last of October, we began to hear of marching orders, and on Sunday, the 26th, they came, and all was astir. Descriptive-rolls were made out for our sick, and we were ready for a start, but we did not move. Monday passed in waiting, and on Tuesday we were on battalion drill again. The 29th marching orders were repeated, to move at daylight, with ten days' rations and 200 rounds of ammunition. In about an hour they were countermanded, and the next day orders came to prepare winter quarters, which we all relished, as we had just had quite a snow storm. Really, if the enemy had sought to learn what we were going to do, all we knew would not have helped them much.

But marching orders came for certain, the evening of the 1st of November, and so anxious were we, or our officers, to be ready, that we sat up all night to make sure. Some would have secured a little sleep, but about 1 o'clock the order came from Colonel [Thomas J.] Sloan, who had reached us a few days previous, to fill our canteens, as there was no water on the road. Besides, our tents were all struck over night, lest there should not be time to do it in the morning. How the recollection of such verdancy amuses us now, after learning to sleep soundly in our tents till the drums began to beat "fall in."

We were in line at 4 o'clock, Sunday morning, November 2d, with our knapsacks and cartridge-boxes on, and officers mounted. After a long time, productive of uncanny speech and foolish actions, we marched to the depot, where there was no stir, to wait again. Towards 8 o'clock the other regiments began to put in a tardy appearance, as we thought, though we noticed they were quite soon enough for the transportation.

Finally we took possession of a number of "flats," and were off for Bolivar, which we reached about noon. Here we found ourselves, brigade as we were, only a small part of what appeared to be a great army, and the accumulation of war material was perfectly surprising. We bivouacked about a mile from the depot, in a very pleasant spot by a stream, with only the few trees and the heavens over us, and the broad earth for our chamber and bed. The experience of the previous night proved a soporific, and after a good wash and a draft upon our haversacks, most of us surrendered unconditionally to sleep.

The next morning we were up at 2 o'clock, and all was bustle for breakfast. This was not as bad as the night before, but was quite bad enough, for our line was not formed till 10, and we did not move till some time after. While in line we received a mail, the last we expected to get for a long time, but in this we were agreeably mistaken.

At last we began to move, and soon found ourselves, for the first time, a part of an advancing army, with its officers and their staffs and escorts, its artillery, cavalry, infantry, and trains stretched out indefinitely. It was wonderful to us. Its order was chaotic. Its array was bewildering. But we were in our places, and that was all that was required of us just then. We started off with alacrity, being all perfectly fresh, and though the day was dry and hot, and we were so heavily loaded, kept it up well. But our ignorance of marching told against us. We really had no conception of the weariness of the way. Other regiments, knowing what was before them, carried lighter loads, and as we would move by them in forming, or they by us, would notice our heavy overcoats strapped on our plethoric knapsacks, and call out, "we will have your overcoats before night." Our boys knew full well what this all meant before the day was over, but the other regiments did not get our overcoats. We made about eleven miles in the heat and dust, which was a good beginning.

About 4 o'clock five or six calves were observed by the roadside, looking with apparent interest upon our moving column. They were some six months old, and in good condition, and many a soldier cast a wolfish eye upon them. But as the ranks were unbroken and moving, they appeared to be perfectly safe. And so they were till Company F came along, for no one could stop to molest them, or dared to, with the eyes of so many subaltern aids upon them. But the boys of F just opened their files, and hovering the unlucky calves into their marching ranks, covered them with overcoats and blankets, and kept them along as though nothing had happened. No one who saw it will ever forget the look of Fred Statz, as he smiled benignly on those new recruits. The reason as we after-

wards learned was, Statz was a butcher. On we moved till at last a skirt of woods was reached, and all at once the line halted from some obstruction in front. Company F was seen to gradually deflect into the bushes with unbroken files, till out of sight. In a moment a bawl was heard by every ear, sure precursor of others, we thought, and of the presence of angry aids and dire disaster. But Maj. [Rufus P.] Pattison being near, comprehended the situation in an instant, and called out in stentorian tones, "music, beat up there," and immediately our drums and fifes were played as if for dear life, and the other calves might have split their throats with bawling without any danger of being heard. It is almost superfluous to add that the musicians and the Major had veal for supper.

As this was our first march, so this was our first experience getting into camp with an army. The long halts and short advances were an enigma to us, like almost everything else. But we soon learned why, though this night's experience, like many others after, failed to prove it pleasant; still there was but little cause for complaint, and ere the night fully shut in, we found ourselves in a very comfortable camp, with plenty of rails gathered, both for fuel and sleeping between, and our fires all lighted. It was a sight never to be forgotten, those thousands of blazing fires, springing up in lurid brightness, as if by magic, with the weird forms flitting about among them, while the murmur of voices, and the neighing of horses and braying of mules, added not a little to the wildness of the scene. For myself, through the kindness of an officer from the 28th Illinois, who had been in the service much longer than we, I had cove oysters, sardines, and pine apple for supper, to eke out the stores of my own haversack—not a very common bill of fare on such a march.

R. L. HOWARD. *History of the 124th Regiment Illinois Infantry Volunteers* (Springfield, 1880), 23-24, 28-32.





BOOK REVIEWS

Horns of Thunder, the Life and Times of James M. Goodhue. By Mary Wheelhouse Berthel. (Minnesota Historical Society: St. Paul, 1948. Pp. 276. \$3.00.)

On April 28, 1849, James M. Goodhue published the first issue of the *Minnesota Pioneer* (now the *St. Paul Pioneer Press*), the earliest newspaper to appear in Minnesota. Prior to his arrival in St. Paul some three days before the appearance of his paper, Goodhue had been a farmer in Illinois and possibly a short-time resident of Galena, a lawyer at Platteville, and editor and publisher of the *Grant County* (Wisconsin) *Herald* at Lancaster. A native of New Hampshire, Goodhue was graduated from Amherst in 1833, but after a short period devoted to the study of law he wandered west and spent possibly a dozen years in Illinois and Wisconsin. Here he achieved some local prominence through his activities as lawyer and editor, but it was not until he established himself in St. Paul that his name became widely known.

Few men have left so strong an impression upon a new territory in so short a time. Goodhue died in August, 1852, barely three years after his arrival at St. Paul's lower levee. In the interval he had become distinguished as a sincere and crusading journalist, as an editor who normally supported the Democratic Party but whose devotion to the future good of the territory transcended mere party allegiance, and as an indefatigable booster for his new home. As he wrote in April, 1852, "We advocated Minnesota, morality and religion, from the beginning." Among the many causes which Goodhue supported in the editorial columns of his *Pioneer* were better and faster mail service, railroads north and west of St. Paul, local manufacturing of all kinds, the development of a lumber industry sufficiently large to satisfy local demands, improvements in the surfacing and lighting of streets, public education, temperance, and, above

all, the extinguishing of Indian claims to the country west of the Mississippi—the fabulous “Suland.” His rapturous descriptions of Minnesota farmland, which he thought superior to the unhealthy fertility of the American Bottom, competed with the superlatives of land-promotion companies.

Goodhue’s goals were creditable, but his methods were certainly curious. For James M. Goodhue lived in the heyday of personal journalism. Gibes and epithets were his weekly stock in trade, and no language was too scurrilous to hurl at a political antagonist or at the editors of his rival newspapers, the *Minnesotian* and the *Minnesota Chronicle and Register*. Goodhue prophesied (only too correctly!) that the territorial secretary who “had stolen *into* the Territory, and stolen *in* the Territory, . . . would in the end, steal *out* of the Territory, with whatever plunder he could abstract from it.” A certain supreme court justice, Goodhue declared, was “lost to all sense of decency and self respect. *Off* the Bench he is a beast, and *on* the Bench he is an ass, stuffed with arrogance, self conceit and ridiculous affectation of dignity.” Probably the following diatribe against two venal officeholders best illustrates Goodhue’s vitriolic powers: “We never knew either of them, even to blunder into the truth, or to appear disguised, except when accidentally sober, or to do anything right, unless through ignorance how to do anything wrong, nor to seek companionship with gentlemen as long as they could receive the countenance of rowdies.”

Mrs. Berthel, a graduate of the University of Illinois and a veteran member of the staff of the Minnesota Historical Society, has produced an interesting and valuable study of Goodhue. Six chapters of her book sketch with utmost brevity Goodhue’s life; nine chapters reflect his varied interests and reproduce many of his editorials. The exposition of the political squabbles which constantly flared around Goodhue’s head is tedious reading today but provides a necessary part of the background. The most vital part of the book is that transcribing Goodhue’s own words, for he had not only a command of invective but admirable descriptive and expository abilities.

Mrs. Berthel’s book is fully documented and is provided with a fairly satisfactory index. The little sketches which occasionally decorate the pages (the work of an untrained but surprisingly accurate St. Paul druggist of the 1850’s) and the reproductions of paintings by Seth Eastman and Jean Baptist Wengler add greatly to the attractiveness of the volume. If Goodhue does not merit a full-dress biography, these pages succeed in making him very much alive.

University of Illinois.

JOHN T. FLANAGAN.

Biostratigraphic Studies of the Niagaran Inter-Reef Formations in Northeastern Illinois. By Heinz A. Lowenstam. (Illinois State Museum: Springfield, 1948. Pp. 146. *Scientific Papers*, Vol. IV.)

The written record of man constitutes the history of the human race. The record found in the rocks of the earth, likewise, constitutes the history of the earth. The only difference is in the method of preservation. Earth history is preserved in rocks in the form of fossils, trails, tracks, and numerous other small markings. The broad picture of earth history is well known, but it is only occasionally that we get a glimpse of such a detailed picture of ancient life as Dr. Lowenstam has given in his study of ancient reef and inter-reef formations in northeastern Illinois.

The Niagaran dolomite forms the surface rock in most of Cook County and extends along the west side of Lake Michigan and east as far as New York where Niagara Falls is formed on the same group. This dolomite contains numerous reefs, composed in part of corals, and represents an area of warm water deposition in the Silurian Period. Lowenstam has examined in detail the fossils and physical characteristics of the Niagaran dolomite with the purpose of determining the precise conditions of environment under which the reefs were formed. He has studied the trails made by trilobites and other animals, as well as the form and position of fossil sponges, crinoids, and bivalve shelled animals. He pays as much attention to fragments as he does to whole specimens, because in these fragments may be found the answer to the conditions of deposition. Fragments may indicate the existence of shallow, rough-water conditions, whereas the preservation of minute, fragile fossils reflects a still-water inter-reef habitat. Lowenstam points out that the reef animals were, as a rule, large and robust with heavy shells and the corals were compact, flat-lying forms like the honey-combed corals.

The author seems to be as familiar with the animal life of these ancient reefs as though he were writing about present-day reefs in the Pacific area. He brings us a great amount of detailed information in the 146 pages of this book. In doing so he also lays to rest the old argument as to the existence of "northern" and "southern" faunal provinces which has been subscribed to for an explanation of differences found in the fossils of the Niagaran. He shows that these differences are due to reef and inter-reef conditions of deposition, in other words ecologic differences.

The book is illustrated with seven plates, most of the figures are clear, but some are poorly lighted. The reader may find some repetition of ideas, and the sentence structure occasionally becomes involved, but the report as a whole gives a good picture of Niagaran life.

University of Illinois.

HAROLD W. SCOTT.

Education and Reform at New Harmony: Correspondence of William Maclure and Marie Duclos Fretageot, 1820-1833. Edited by Arthur E. Bestor, Jr. (Indiana Historical Society, *Publications*, Vol. 15, no. 3, Indianapolis, 1948. Pp. 285-418.)

William Maclure, through his participation in the New Harmony community, made a lasting contribution to scientific research and publication in the West. Maclure was born in Scotland in 1763 and moved to Philadelphia before the end of the eighteenth century. After acquiring a substantial fortune, he retired before the age of forty to devote himself to science and education. Influenced by Pestalozzi, Maclure brought Joseph Neef, one of Pestalozzi's co-workers, to America in 1806 to establish a school and to prepare a pedagogical treatise which was published in 1808 at Philadelphia. After a decade of geological studies and expeditions in America, Maclure became interested in two Pestalozzian teachers, Marie Duclos Fretageot and Guillaume Sylvan Casimir Piquet d'Arusmont, and financed their emigration to America in 1821 and 1824 respectively.

Although only moderately interested in the social experiment of Robert Owen, Maclure was persuaded by his Philadelphia friends to join Owen in January, 1826. New Harmony, as interpreted by Mr. Bestor, was not merely "an experimental application of novel social and economic theories" but was rather "a highly complex movement, representing the convergence of at least three distinct currents of thought, social, educational, and scientific." The letters of Maclure and Madame Fretageot over a period of nearly fifteen years "constitute the only continuous contemporary record of the genesis, culmination, and dissolution of Owen's social experiment and of the steadier advance of the scientific and educational programs connected with it."

Mr. Bestor has selected fifty-two letters of the three hundred and fifty complete and sixty-five fragmentary letters of the Maclure-Fretageot correspondence, upon which he bases *Education and Reform at New Harmony*. Happily for the reader, the editor has woven a lucid explanatory narrative about the correspondence. Written with careful scholarship, this work makes a valuable addition to our knowledge of the social, educational, and scientific movements brought to a fruition at New Harmony in the 1820's.

University of Wisconsin.

DONALD J. BERTHRONG.

The Journals and Indian Paintings of George Winter: 1837-1839. (Indiana Historical Society: Indianapolis, 1948. Pp. 208. \$12.50.)

Occasionally a book comes from the press which is a real work of art—accurate, historical, and fine in format as Dresden china. Such is

The Journals and Indian Paintings of George Winter. The introduction is written by Howard Peckham, author of *Pontiac*. Few authentic pictures of early-day Indians are known, Mr. Peckham tells us. The popular conception of the red man is a feathered warrior on horseback—in short, a Plains Indian. The aborigines of the forested areas along the Atlantic and in the Midlands were very different people. As early as 1588 a few Indian drawings by John White, a member of the Roanoke colony, appeared in print. French graphic interpretations by Jacques Le Moyne were printed in 1591. The Indians pictured by these artists were Atlantic Coast natives, and their popularity is attested by the fact that the drawings were copied and recopied for two hundred years. More artists drew pictures of the early Indians of the Midlands—but not many more—and here lies the great contribution and charm of this book.

Six painters have left us their interpretations of the Indian prior to 1840—Thomas L. McKenney, Basil Hall, J. O. Lewis, Charles Bodmer, George Catlin, and George Winter—but most of the Indians depicted were plainsmen. George Winter, between 1837 and 1839, specialized in Miamis and Potawatomis in the state of Indiana. The illustrations in this volume show these Indians in camp and in council, lounging in a village and conducting burial services. A series of portraits in color reproduces accurately the delicate touch of the artist.

The book contains an appraisal of George Winter by Wilbur D. Peat, a biographical sketch by Gayle Thornbrough, and the artist's own journal for 1837 and 1839. People who appreciate fine printing and those who are interested in the Indian of the Midlands a hundred years ago will delight in the pages of this handsome volume.

J. M.

The Territory of Louisiana-Missouri, 1803-1806. Compiled and edited by Clarence Edwin Carter. (Government Printing Office: Washington, 1948. Pp. 641. \$3.50.)

The Territory of Illinois, 1809-1814. Compiled and edited by Clarence Edwin Carter. (Government Printing Office: Washington, 1948. Pp. 506. \$3.75.)

These are volumes XIII and XVI of *The Territorial Papers of the United States*, a series edited at national expense by a competent scholar. Each volume contains reprintings of hundreds of manuscripts. Proper annotations describe them and tell where the originals may be found. The editor explains the purpose of each document and identifies the people mentioned. An interesting letter from the Secretary of War tells Captain Bis-

sell when and how to take possession of New Madrid and Little Prairie shortly after the Louisiana Purchase in 1803. The compiler enlarges on this territorial transfer by referring to several more pertinent documents published in Louis Houck's *A History of Missouri*. Among them is a letter from French Colonial Minister Laussat to DeHault de Lassus, Lieutenant Governor of the government of Illinois at St. Louis, ordering the lands transferred to the United States. The original of this interesting and important document happens to be in the Illinois State Historical Library where visitors may see it upon request.

These volumes are primarily source material for scholars but the lay reader who thumbs through them will find in Vol. XIII interesting communications framed by participants in the tremendous task of organizing the Louisiana purchase into a territorial government. Volume XVI deals with a subject closer to Illinoisans. Among many items of interest in the territorial days of our own state, documents disclose a plan to fix prices as early as 1809.

Extensive indexes in these volumes will furnish genealogists with a new source for the elusive names of ancestors.

J. M.

As Luck Would Have It: Chance and Coincidence in the Civil War. By Otto Eisenschiml and E. B. Long. (The Bobbs-Merrill Company: Indianapolis, 1948. Pp. 285. \$3.00.)

In what they call a holiday for historians the authors have selected fifteen Civil War episodes and have shown how they were influenced by minor events that happened or didn't happen. It is a sort of if-the-dog-hadn't-stopped-to-pick-up-the-bone-he-would-have-caught-the-rabbit game.

"If a Confederate sharpshooter," say the authors, "had pulled the trigger of his musket a few seconds sooner than he did, Ulysses S. Grant would not have become President of the United States." This was after the Battle of Belmont in the fall of 1861. General Grant had just gotten up from the captain's couch on a Mississippi River transport when a bullet plowed through where he had been lying. Undoubtedly the General had other close calls but this is the one the authors chose.

And farther on they say, "If a Confederate officer had not been a lucky fisherman, the name of Appomattox Court House would not have become synonymous with Lee's surrender and the end of the Civil War." The officer was Major General T. L. Rosser and he caught so many shad one peaceful afternoon that there were enough left the next day for him

to invite General George Pickett and Fitzhugh Lee to his headquarters for a feast. And the latter were separated from their troops during the Battle of Five Oaks. This was the first of a "chain of events which led to disaster after disaster" and to Appomattox. The authors don't say that the Confederate surrender would not have come approximately where and when it did anyway, but they do say that the shad bake made a difference.

One chapter is pure fantasy—preceded by these words: "If Edwin M. Stanton, Lincoln's Secretary of War, had not pigeonholed a letter sent to him in April, 1862, but had brought it to the attention of the Cabinet, it might have resulted in sweeping consequences, such as these . . ." That letter suggested the use of chlorine gas and author Eisenschiml, who is also a chemist, tells of an imaginary Union offensive that leads quickly to Confederate capitulation. Incidentally, another chemist, Lammot du Pont, supplies the action for one of the chapters in the book.

The authors have concocted an interesting historical side show, filled with big and little freaks. What they present does not have much to do with the goings on under history's "big top" and they don't pretend that it does. But, at least, their show is on the same lot.

H. F. R.

Mr. Clutch: The Story of George William Borg. By Robert J. Casey. (The Bobbs-Merrill Company: Indianapolis, 1948. Pp. 258. \$3.50.)

More than twenty books in half a dozen different fields have proved it is impossible for Bob Casey to write unentertainingly. Despite this the average reader will approach *Mr. Clutch* with a slight feeling of hesitation because the life stories of successful businessmen seldom inspire more than a routine job of writing. However, few other writers have subjects as interesting as George William Borg and fewer still have the Casey touch. These two differences are enough to lift this book far above the average for the genre.

Borg is an Illinois boy who made good in a really big way. Although born in West Burlington, Iowa (October 24, 1887), he spent his Tom Sawyerish boyhood in Moline, Illinois. In 1902 he began a four-year apprenticeship in the machine shop of Deere & Mansur at six cents an hour for a sixty-hour week. But he left before the term was up to join his father's firm of Borg & Beck, manufacturers of woodworking machinery.

In addition to grammar school young Georgie Borg's formal education consisted of nine months in business college. And this, plus the help of Marshall Beck, was all that he needed. The role of Beck was partic-

ularly important because this businessman-of-the-old-school was at once an adviser and a horrible example to Borg. His fatherly aid was offset by the fact that he wrote sales letters for the company in longhand and made each a scholarly thesis. Borg listened to the advice and took over the letter writing himself. And then, in 1909, the two of them invented the modern automobile clutch.

Casey details the difficulty Borg had in selling his invention to the automobile manufacturers, although it was the one product that would do the job satisfactorily. He did sell it, however, and by 1918 the business had outgrown Moline so he moved the main works to Chicago. From this point Casey's story becomes less and less detailed. The merger with the Warner Gear Company to form Borg-Warner Corporation is sketchily told and after that Borg buys up other companies sometimes at a rate of six to a paragraph. He became something of an enigma to the financial writers because his enterprises were able to weather the depression and setbacks such as new inventions that would make one of his products obsolete, and even several stabs-in-the-back by trusted employees. This he accomplished by adhering to a policy of solvency and diversification, from clutches he branched out into other automotive parts and then into other fields—clocks, radio, refrigeration, television—until he owned, outright or in part, several hundred companies.

His latest "diversification" is the development of a section of Arizona desert into productive farm land. The "Borg luck" held and his wells produced plenty of water where water had never been seen before. Incidentally, this last part of the story is told in some detail since the author stayed at Borg's fabulous desert inn, Casa Blanca, while compiling material for his book.

All in all Casey gives the reader his usual fast-moving and entertaining story. If the years between 1920 and 1947 seem compressed into too little space it must be remembered that he is not writing history.

H. F. R.

Joseph Benson Foraker: An Uncompromising Republican. By Everett Walters. (The Ohio History Press: Columbus, 1948. Pp. 315. \$3.50.)

The subject of this biography and the detailed story of his public life are most revealing at this time. They emphasize dramatically the change that our nation has undergone since the turn of the century.

An "uncompromising Republican," an ultraconservative Senator from Ohio (1897-1909), Foraker today, if there could be any of his kind, would certainly be in private life. He could never get elected to public office.

Even though a conservative of the most conservative kind he had a penchant for the dramatic and sensational, and a flair for oratory. This distinguished and aristocratic legislator acquired such nicknames as "Fire alarm Joe" and "Bloody shirt Foraker." He could be vindictive, too, and seemed dearly to love a brawl. "He was regarded as a better fighter than President [Theodore] Roosevelt who had been known to yield. Foraker, it was pointed out, never had."

Born in 1846, Foraker served through the Civil War and went to college after his release from the Army. He was in the first graduating class at Cornell University. Admitted to the bar in 1869, he practiced law in Cincinnati. "During his first year in law he earned six hundred dollars; during his fourth year he earned twenty-seven hundred—'after that it was easy.' " He was Governor of Ohio, 1885-1889, and U. S. Senator from Ohio, 1897-1909. The presidency was his great ambition, but one can easily understand why he never got it.

His opposition to Theodore Roosevelt is dwelt upon in great detail, as indeed it must be to explain his public life. In the "Brownsville Affair" Foraker really let himself go in bitter, personal vindictiveness. He had a later counterpart in Henry Cabot Lodge who so violently opposed Woodrow Wilson, though Foraker's actions hurt no one but himself.

A wealthy corporation lawyer, Joseph Benson Foraker came abruptly to the end of his public life as his second term in the Senate neared completion. William Randolph Hearst printed, in 1908, letters written to Foraker by John D. Archbold, vice-president of the Standard Oil Company. They implied that Foraker was paid to serve the interests of Standard Oil in the Senate. No conclusions as to Foraker's guilt or innocence were ever reached, but he admitted being in the employ of Standard Oil. The money he received was for services to the company in Ohio, so he said. And it probably was. He was not a man to be bribed. But can one serve two masters at the same time—the Standard Oil Company and the people of the United States? That, the reader will have to judge for himself.

Dr. Walters has attempted to depict this partisan conservative impartially. That he has succeeded in this may be judged by the fact that the reader alternately admires and hates but must always respect this "uncompromising Republican."

S. A. W.

Ballads From the Bluffs. By Elihu Nicholas Hall. (Judge Hall Book Co.: Elizabethtown, Ill., 1948. Pp. 272.)

These *Ballads From the Bluffs* are adventure stories, romances, and folklore dealing principally with characters in the Ozark bluff country of

southern Illinois. Judge Hall, who is Hardin County chairman of the membership committee of the Illinois State Historical Society, was born in the region about which he writes and, when a boy, was fascinated by the stories the old settlers used to tell. These ballads are the pioneers' accounts of the lusty early days in southern Illinois.

In this area of Cave-in-Rock, lawlessness was almost the order of the day. Many of these poems deal with the violent and bloody deeds of counterfeiters, horse thieves, and moonshiners, notable among whom were John A. Murrell, Jim Ford, Squire Potts, and John Duff. These men were known in that section as the "Big Four."

Against this background of lawlessness the forces of law and order stand out in sharp contrast. Heroine of the ballads is Anna Pierce, Doctor Anna, the praying doctor and nurse and benefactor of the whole region whose diary the author read in his boyhood.

Doctor Anna treated th' sick folks,
In the Woodland huts and hovels,
Where her tact, her patience, an' judgment,
Her low tender voice and prayer,
Sympathy for the sick and ailing,
Remedies, herbs, her teas and cordials,
Won the friendship of the lawless;
Wives and mothers felt her presence,
Brought in haloes o' peace and sanctity,
Driving out foul speech and profanity.

Judge Hall states that he first wrote the stories in prose but later rewrote them in verse. Trochaic tetrameter, the metrical form of Longfellow's "Song of Hiawatha," has been followed by the author.

S. A. W.

Yester Years in Edwards County, Illinois. Volume Two. By Edgar L. Dukes.
(Published by the Author, 1948. Pp. 208. \$3.50.)

In 1945 the author published a volume of *Yester Years* that concerned the history of Edwards County up to the death of Morris Birkbeck in 1825. This little volume continues the story from the death of Birkbeck to the beginning of the Civil War.

As in the first volume Mr. Dukes has drawn heavily upon contemporary sources—wills, letters, travel accounts, etc., and the selections make very entertaining reading. The author has done a great deal of research, but one feels that he has enjoyed it.

The book is stoutly bound—almost too stoutly, in fact, for it is difficult to hold open for comfortable reading. This, however, is a minor

fault. A table of contents would have been a great help; fortunately there is an index. Misspelling the name of James Stuart, the Scotchman who visited the English settlement in 1830 is also unfortunate, but probably none but the Scotch will object. From Stuart's book *Three Years in North America* several interesting observations are quoted. On the whole, however, volume two of *Yester Years* is a useful and certainly readable addition to the history of this remarkable county.

S. A. W.



LINCOLN AUTOGRAPHS AND FORGERIES

(Solution to picture queries on page 82)

1. A forgery on a copy of the Wigwam Edition (1860) of Lincoln's life and works. As explained in the text Lincoln was not in the habit of autographing publications of this kind. The regularity of the writing disclosed in the enlargement, makes this the poorest imitation of the lot.
2. A genuine signature affixed to a letter to General H. W. Halleck dated September 19, 1863. Lincoln usually put two dots after "A" but not always.
3. A forgery of Lincoln's name signed to a promissory note dated November 16, 1860. Enlargement discloses this signature to be too nearly perfect. There is something wrong with the "A." Moreover Lincoln in November, 1860, did not need to borrow \$35 on a note.
4. Lincoln seldom signed "Abraham" to a letter but he almost always used his full name on a document. This example is genuine.
5. A forgery by Joseph Cosey. Notice how he used porous paper to blur his lines and thus hide the irregularity.



NOTES ON THE OLD CAHOKIA COURTHOUSE

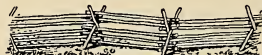
Since the 250th anniversary of the founding of Cahokia will be celebrated this year it is appropriate that its most familiar landmark should decorate the front cover of this issue of the *Journal*. This is the earliest picture of the Old Cahokia Courthouse in the files of the Illinois State Historical Library and was made about 1890, or some years before the building was moved to the St. Louis World's Fair of 1904. After the fair it was taken to Chicago where it remained until 1939. Today, on its original foundation stones and completely restored by the state, it presents an entirely different appearance from that of the dilapidated structure shown on our cover.

Incidentally, the history of the Cahokia Courthouse has never been well established, but for many years it served as a private dwelling and because of this its story is in *Old Illinois Houses* by John Drury which has just been published by the Illinois State Historical Society. For more information about the oldest settlement in the Mississippi Valley turn to Charles E. Peterson's article, "Notes on Old Cahokia," on page 7.

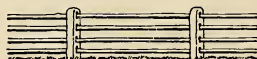
An elaborate series of civic and religious observances on May 15 to 22 is being planned by the Cahokia 250th Anniversary Association to mark the founding of the village in 1699. Samuel Cardinal Stritch will pontificate at a field mass on May 15, opening the ceremonies, and Bishop Joseph H. Schlarmann, of Peoria, will preach the sermon. The mass will be said on the parish grounds where the Holy Family Church was established 250 years ago. Mrs. W. H. Matlack is president of the Association.

Members of the Illinois State Historical Society will be able to take part in this celebration on their Spring Tour on May 20 and 21.

The editors wish to thank Romaine Proctor, of Springfield (and well known for his puppet plays), for the new headings that brighten our Illinois Scrapbook, Historical Notes, and Book Reviews departments and the drawings at the ends of articles, as well as the little fences in this News and Comment section. These arresting sketches seem especially appropriate for our publication and, with others, will continue to be used as space permits.



Joseph H. Barnhart generously welcomes members of the Society who are passing through Danville to visit his house, the old Dr. Fithian residence at 116 Gilbert Street. This dwelling was built in Danville in the 1830's, and from its balcony Lincoln spoke in 1858. It is described in John Drury's *Old Illinois Houses*, pages 78-79.



LETTER TO THE EDITOR

Editors of periodicals usually like to publish laudatory letters, but that is not the entire reason for the one that follows. The last sentence of this letter presents a challenge which it is hoped will result in more biographical sketches such as the one mentioned.

FLOSSMOOR, ILLINOIS
NOVEMBER 21, 1948.

*Mr. J. Monaghan, Editor
Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society
Springfield, Illinois.*

DEAR JAY:

Allow me to congratulate you on a particularly fine number of the *Journal*—that for September.

In your introduction to the Book Review section you said—with commendable gentleness—something that much needed saying. Too many reviewers, I think, forget that it is their job to give the reader a good account of the book, and to leave the judgment, as much as possible, to the reader of the review. The temptation, yielded to much too often, is to make the review an excuse for a show-off of the reviewer's own knowledge of the subject—which may be very great, or (as I have had occasion to observe) it may not be important enough to justify all the fireworks shot off.

If the book deserves condemnation, then—even then—I think the reviewer should show a decent reluctance to sink the harpoon too often or too deep. Even if the reviewer is a scholar who towers far above the poor devil who wrote the book, it seems to me that the obligation is to be a gentleman first, and a scholar second. After all, the reader of the review is interested in the book, not immediately in the relative merits of the writer and reviewer.

Now let me say a few enthusiastic words for Elizabeth Raymond Woodward's portrait of her grandmother. Here is a biographical sketch that beats anything of the kind I have read in many a day. It has charm. It has power that comes from its head-on truthfulness—no punches pulled, no dodging around "matters that had better be left unsaid." So many of the biographies that are written, as you know, are so denatured for "policy reasons" that they are feeble things indeed. The pictures of Jane and Helen are magnificent. In telling this story, Mrs. Woodward does just about as admirable a job of portraying herself as her grandmother, and this says much for the vigor of her writing. You are not going to scare up many biographical sketches as good as this one, Jay.

Sincerely yours,

HARRY J. OWENS.



Illinois residents along the line of the Alton route of the Gulf, Mobile & Ohio Railroad soon may see the engine that pulled the Freedom Train. The road has purchased the engine and will place it in service this spring on its "Abraham Lincoln" and "Ann Rutledge" trains between Chicago and St. Louis.



Our readers will be interested to know (although many may have heard the program) that the "Cavalcade of America" on February 7 over NBC dramatized Zarel C. Spears and Robert S. Barton's *Berry and Lincoln, Frontier Merchants: The Store that "Winked Out."* The book was reviewed in the December, 1948, issue of this *Journal*.



The Society regrets the loss recently of three of its members who have been associated with the organization for many years.

Minna Worthington Adams (Mrs. Albyn L.) died on January 13. Mrs. Adams had been a member of the Illinois State Historical Society

since 1905. Prominent in Jacksonville and Morgan County, she had devoted all of her adult life to the welfare of her community.

On October 16, 1948, Albert H. Griffith, a member of the Society since 1910, died at Winnebago, Wisconsin. A lifelong resident of Utica, Wisconsin, Mr. Griffith had spent much of his time since 1900 in the collection of Lincolniana.

Dr. John H. Ryan, Pontiac clergyman and civic leader and a member of the Illinois State Historical Society since 1908, died on December 16. Dr. Ryan, at the time of his death, was also president of the Livingston County Historical Society.



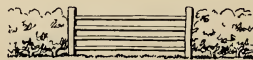
The editors are in receipt of the following communication from Carl Bode, professor of English at the University of Maryland, College Park, Maryland:

I am writing a book to be entitled, *The American Lyceum: Town Meeting of the Mind*. It is to be a study of the cultural, historical, and literary aspects of the lecture system in our country from 1830 to 1860. I would be indebted to any of your readers who would let me know if a lyceum existed in their locality before 1860 and, perhaps, where I might write to secure records of the lyceum if it did exist.



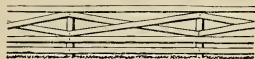
Officers of the Boone County Historical Society are: Larry Kleber, president; Harold Sewell, vice-president; and Miss Nelva Dean, secretary-treasurer.

At the November meeting the group discussed the purchase of a building to house the Society's historical collection. The many relics are now stored in a barn.



The Bureau County Historical Society held open house on December 12, in its new home, the former residence of Mrs. Grace L. Norris. The spacious mansion was host to more than 200 guests during the afternoon and evening.

The Society's museum is now open three days a week: Thursday, Saturday, and Sunday afternoons from one o'clock until five. It will also be open to groups by appointment.



When the Chicago Historical Society held its ninety-first annual meeting in October, Director Paul M. Angle announced the recent acquisition of some magnificent gifts. Among these were the late Joseph T. Ryerson's collection of Chicago material and a rare painting by Benjamin West depicting William Penn's treaty with the Indians. The latter was the gift of Mrs. Emily Crane Chadbourne.

A new marine exhibit room was opened in November. Ship models going back to pre-Christian days are displayed. The Society's Museum had a total attendance of 143,750 in 1948, a gain of 7,750 over the previous year.

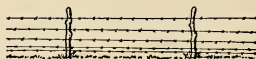


The Chicago Lawn Historical Society will hold open house on Sunday afternoon, May 1, from two until six o'clock at the Chicago Lawn Library, 6234 South Kedzie Avenue, Chicago. The history of Chicago Lawn and vicinity will be presented by slides, showing the community from the time of its beginning. The record will be brought up to date with a motion picture of Chicago Lawn as it appears now. In addition, antiques, photographs, old newspapers, programs, and mementos will add their part to the story of other days and ways.



Officers of the West Side (Chicago) Historical Society are: Miss Pearl I. Field, honorary life president; Miss Helen Babcock, honorary president; Bernard Baer, president; J. C. Miller, first vice-president; Albert Keeney, second vice-president; William Cohn, third vice-president; Tom Connery, fourth vice-president; Miss Martha Holt, treasurer; and Mrs. Marie Melberg, secretary-historian. Directors are: T. H. Golightly, Mrs. Lois M. Bergh, Charles A. Bethge, Walter H. Buescher, John F. Butler, Charles X. Clancy, William Cohn, Dr. Otto Eisenschiml, Miss Signy Hoff, Robert C. Jamieson, Homer D. Jones, George P. Madigan, Edward C. Connor, Hobart H. Sommers, and Carl Stockholm.

At the Society's semi-annual meeting in November, George Eastland recounted the history of the Chicago and North Western Railway Company. Mr. Eastland is editor of the North Western's *Newsliner*. Following the railroad story, J. C. Miller used slides to illustrate a discussion of the Illinois and Michigan Canal. Last spring the Society toured the canal route on its annual visit to a historical spot.



The Historical Society of Woodlawn (Chicago) had Frank Ingram Hooper as guest speaker at its meeting on February 11. Mr. Hooper spoke on "Lincoln, the Man."

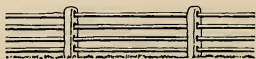


At the November meeting of the Edwards County Historical Society, Mrs. Virginia Skinner read a letter written in Albion by J. J. Lambert in 1865 to Captain Lee Woods. Mrs. Skinner also discussed the letter's interesting gossip and information concerning Albion's social life in 1865.

In January, a round-table discussion on "High Lights in Edwards County History" was held.



Dr. Francis L. Bacon presented an illustrated lecture "Homes of the Presidents" at the November public meeting of the Evanston Historical Society. Dr. Bacon, retiring principal of the Evanston Township High School, has spent his spare time for many years visiting the homes of the presidents and collecting the material for his lecture.



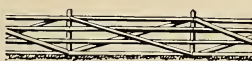
A paper of reminiscences by Clyde A. Mann was read at the December meeting of the Geneva Historical Society. The history of another old Geneva house eligible for a bronze plaque was also presented. The house, at State and Batavia streets, was built in 1839. Mrs. Forrest Crissey gave

a character sketch of "Kit" Shylock, a town character of some fifty years ago. Dr. C. H. Lyttle is president of the group.

The Society is offering prizes to students of Geneva schools for photographs of buildings, streets, and scenic sites that merit preservation in the Society's collection. A first prize of \$15 and a second prize of \$10 will be awarded at the annual meeting of the Geneva Historical Society on May 8. All contestants will receive a two-year membership in the Society.



J. L. Buford was the principal speaker at the December meeting of the Jefferson County Historical Society. Mr. Buford's subject was Mt. Vernon and its phenomenal growth in the past ten years.



A special Christmas exhibit was featured in December by the Kankakee County Historical Society. Old-fashioned toys and dolls were among the articles displayed. Also shown were the model ships of Frederick Greenman and the Pauline Palmer collection of paintings.



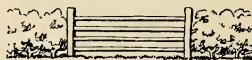
The Lake County Historical Society has been reorganized. Honorary president of the group is Governor Adlai E. Stevenson. Other officers are: Robert Ticken, president; Richard Hantke, vice-president; Mrs. Bess Dunn, second vice-president; William Sproat, secretary; and Harold Norman, treasurer. On the board of directors are: Lloyd Lewis, George P. Renchan, Clarence W. Diver, Marjorie Porter, Mrs. Ralph E. West, Charles Z. Henkle, Albert Hall, Senator Ray Paddock, Edward Arpee, Ray T. Nicholas, Hermon Dunlap Smith, James R. Getz, and Mrs. George Ranney, Jr.



William B. Brigham, formerly McLean County superintendent of schools, was made honorary life president of the McLean County Historical Society and Governor Adlai E. Stevenson was made an honorary life member of the Society at the group's January meeting in Bloomington.

Officers of the Society are: Wayne C. Townley, president; W. W. Wallis, first vice-president; Mrs. Kate Orendorff, second vice-president; Dr. D. D. Raber, third vice-president; John W. Moore, secretary; Louis L. Williams, treasurer; the Rev. E. E. Atherton, chaplain; Mrs. Margaret M. Hoffman, librarian; and Mrs. Inez Dunn, active librarian at the Society's museum in the McBarnes Building.

Mr. Townley, who was re-elected for his fourteenth term as president, announced the honorary memberships. Mr. Brigham has done outstanding work in McLean County history for years.



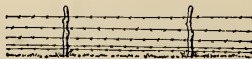
Frank E. Sawyer read a paper on the history of Forsyth at the December meeting of the Macon County Historical Society. The meeting was held in the Decatur Public Library.



The newly organized Alton Area Historical Society, a chapter of the Madison County Historical Society, elected the following officers on December 12: Mrs. F. J. Stobbs, president; Mrs. Anna C. Kranz, vice-president; Mrs. E. V. Rohde, secretary; Clarence E. Sargent, treasurer; and Miss Margaret Hall, librarian. Judge Henry B. Eaton, Guy D. Helmick, and Mrs. Frank Eccles were elected members-at-large. Mrs. Harry L. Meyer, president of the Madison County Historical Society, presided as temporary chairman, and Guy D. Helmick as temporary secretary.



The Mattoon Historical Society listened to "voices of history" at its January meeting. The tape recordings and records were presented by Robert F. LaMere.



Frank Moffitt recounted the tragic story of the Donner Party to the Morgan County Historical Society in November. In January, Attorney John Snigg, friend of the late Vachel Lindsay, spoke on "Tramping Around Historic Illinois."

Officers of the St. Clair County Historical Society are: Dr. L. G. Osborne, president; Gustave A. Baltz, vice-president; Alvin L. Nebelsick, secretary-manager. Members of the board of directors include: Dr. Osborne, William R. Dorris, Charles F. Gergen, B. C. McCurdy, Mr. Nebelsick, John E. Miller, and Mr. Baltz.



New officers were chosen at the January meeting of the Saline County Historical Society. Those elected are: Fred H. Wasson, president; Ernest V. Gates, first vice-president; Mrs. Mary Lindsay, second vice-president; James Bond, treasurer; Mrs. Madeline Holdoway, secretary. Directors chosen are: L. O. Trigg, T. Leo Dodd, William H. Farley, Miss Alvina Shestak, and Brose Phillips.

The Rev. Joseph P. Donnelly, librarian of St. Louis University, gave an interesting talk on Cahokia.



The Stephenson County Historical Society held its second annual Christmas exhibit in December. Rooms showing Christmas through the years and displays of handiwork, toys, and Italian, German, and Danish cookies were part of the exhibition in the Society's museum. A preview of this display was held for members and their guests on December 3. Then Christmas carols were sung, and there were refreshments of cranberry punch and Christmas cookies.



The Winnetka Historical Society held its post-holiday dinner meeting at the Winnetka Woman's Club on January 12. More than 100 members attended. Following the dinner, a hobby show for the men and also a spelldown were features of the entertainment. The spelldown was won by Carleton Prouty with Mrs. William A. McKinney in second place. In the hobby show prizes were awarded to Frank A. Windes, Dr. Arthur A. Gilbert, and Frank Pavlik.

In the December issue of this *Journal* we printed a list of people who joined the Illinois State Historical Society during July, August, and September. Following are the names of those who enrolled during October, November, and December, 1948.

LIFE MEMBERS

Berger, Albert E.	Chicago, Ill.	Hinchliff, Ralph.	Rockford, Ill.
Blair, William McCormick.	Chicago, Ill.	Hinchliff, Mrs. Ralph.	Rockford, Ill.

ANNUAL MEMBERS

Abrahamson, Jennie J.	Chicago, Ill.	Day, William L.	Springfield, Ill.
Abrahamson, Olive I.	Chicago, Ill.	Demand, H. P.	Evanston, Ill.
Adams, Stephen M.	Danville, Ill.	Dickson, R. C.	Evanston, Ill.
Adelman, Victor L.	Pleasant Plains, Ill.	Dixon, Evalyn.	Avon, Ill.
Alexander, William H.	Wilmette, Ill.	Dole, Mrs. John L.	Wayne, Ill.
Allard, Gerry.	Springfield, Ill.	Dornan, Peter.	Chicago, Ill.
Allen, Mrs. William J.	Roodhouse, Ill.	Dornseif, Norman.	Chicago, Ill.
Anderson, Mary.	Chicago, Ill.	Dunlea, Thomas A.	South Bend, Ind.
Asmus, Mrs. C. Edward.	Galena, Ill.		
Ballweg, Eleanore L.	Mt. Vernon, Ill.	Edlund, Mrs. E. W.	Maywood, Ill.
Barnhart, Joseph H.	Danville, Ill.	Endres, Dr. Fred C.	Peoria, Ill.
Bars, Mrs. Carl.	Blue Island, Ill.	Everson, Arthur E.	Chicago, Ill.
Barton, Dr. W. C.	Santa Fe, N. M.	Ewen, Mrs. William R. T., Jr.	Evanston, Ill.
Beatty, Edward C. O.	DeKalb, Ill.		
Becherer, Dr. C.	East Peoria, Ill.	Felt, Anna.	Galena, Ill.
Bell, Mrs. Robert I.	Evanston, Ill.	Fleming, George J.	Chicago, Ill.
Biel, John G.	Terre Haute, Ind.	Ford, Thomas F.	Chicago, Ill.
Blackwood, George F.	Chicago, Ill.	Fredenhagen, Mrs. W. S.	Naperville, Ill.
Bone, Dr. R. G.	Urbana, Ill.	Friedman, Roy J.	Chicago, Ill.
Bradfield, Elston G.	Chicago, Ill.	Frizane, L. L.	Chicago, Ill.
Bremer, Elsie M.	Evanston, Ill.		
Brooks, George Raithel.	St. Louis, Mo.	Gabriel, Mr. and Mrs. William.	Alton, Ill.
Brown, Virginia S.	Springfield, Ill.	Gage, Asahel W.	Evanston, Ill.
Buford, Mr. and Mrs. J. Lester.		Garrett, Dr. Sherman S.	Champaign, Ill.
	Mt. Vernon, Ill.	Gaziano, Rosario A.	Rockford, Ill.
Burns, Frank L.	Galena, Ill.	Glos, Hattie G.	Wayne, Ill.
Byars, Mary Warner.	Kirkwood, Mo.	Graham, Betty P.	Granite City, Ill.
		Grandy, Harriet.	Pontiac, Ill.
Cain, P. T.	Carlinville, Ill.		
Casper, Mrs. Verna S.	Chicago, Ill.	Haase, Herbert E.	Oak Park, Ill.
Chalfont, Mrs. Maude.	Carmi, Ill.	Hackman, Mrs. Henry.	Peru, Ill.
Chervenak, John, Jr.	Chicago, Ill.	Harrell, Mrs. Dallas T.	Edwardsville, Ill.
Clement, H. Alvin.	Chicago, Ill.	Harrison, Mrs. Terese.	Chicago, Ill.
Cleworth, Mark M.	Elgin, Ill.	Heck, Mrs. C. G.	Princeton, Ill.
Clough, Rt. Rev. Charles A.	Springfield, Ill.	Heer, Harry L.	Galena, Ill.
Cole, Martin.	Riverside, Calif.	Helwig, Richard O.	Chicago, Ill.
Connery, Robert H.	Urbana, Ill.	Hilsabeck, Mrs. Arch.	Chicago, Ill.
Coxey, Mrs. Jane.	Chicago, Ill.	Hobart, Helen E.	Evanston, Ill.
Crew, Henry.	Evanston, Ill.	Hough, Harry L.	Mazon, Ill.
Cross, Jasper W., Jr.	St. Louis, Mo.	House, Harriet R.	East St. Louis, Ill.
Crowley, Daniel J.	Peoria, Ill.	Hoy, Mrs. Charles R.	Franklin Grove, Ill.
		Huggins, Dr. M. J.	Edwardsville, Ill.
Dalstrom, Mr. and Mrs. Gustaf. Chicago, Ill.		Hughes, Robert G.	Carmi, Ill.
Danielson, Dorothy M.	Evanston, Ill.	Hurley, Jeanne C.	Wilmette, Ill.
Day, Mrs. Jessie M.	Clinton, Ill.	Hvale, James L.	Chicago, Ill.

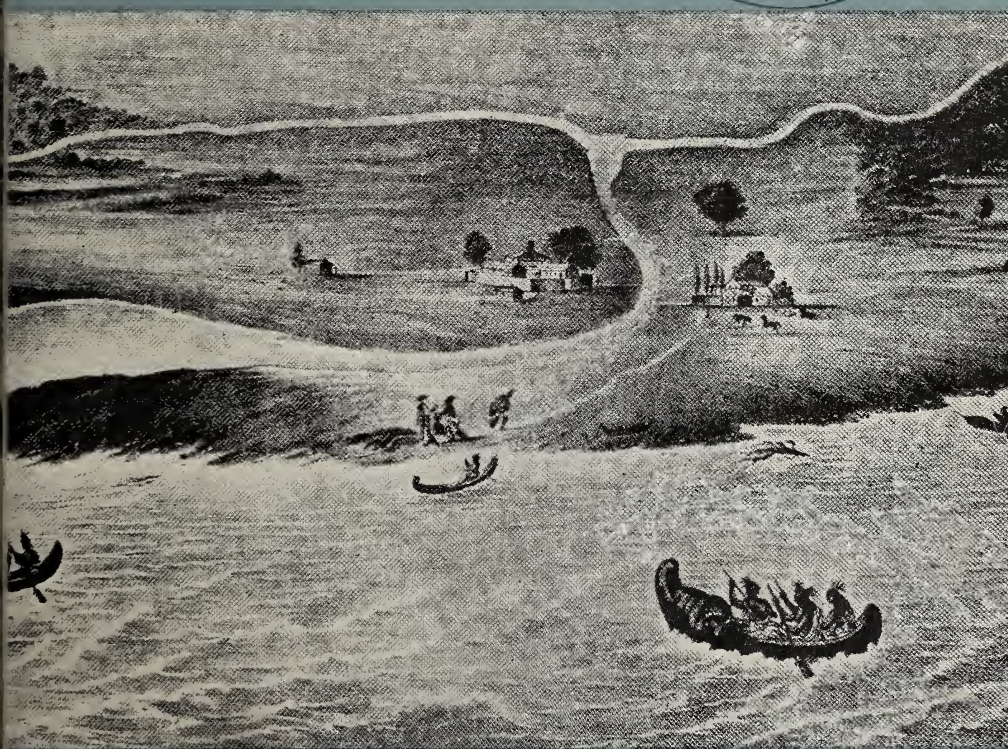
- Inversetti, W. F. Steger, Ill.
 Jackson, Mr. and Mrs. Walter H.
 Seattle, Wash.
 Jacobs, Clarence R. Princeton, Ill.
 James, R. L. Russellville, Ala.
 Jones, Charles O. Decatur, Ill.
 Josephson, Carl W. Chicago Heights, Ill.
 Kaiser, W. L. Chicago, Ill.
 Kalkbrenner, Myrtle Chicago, Ill.
 Kennedy, Richard L., Jr. Lake Forest, Ill.
 Keys, Mrs. M. C. Metamora, Ill.
 Kissner, Fred W. Glenview, Ill.
 Kleimenhagen, Karl C. La Salle, Ill.
 Klink, Alice E. Chicago, Ill.
 Koch, Flora M. Jacksonville, Ill.
 Kross, Michael Elmhurst, Ill.
 Lambert, Edith S. Carthage, Ill.
 Larson, Ernest S. Wheaton, Ill.
 Lavezzorio, Nicholas J. Evanston, Ill.
 Le Pacek, Frank S. Quincy, Ill.
 Levich, Mrs. William K. Ottawa, Ill.
 Levy, Mrs. Emile Chicago, Ill.
 Lewis, Geraldine L. Dixon, Ill.
 Ljubenko, Dusan J. Chicago, Ill.
 Lytle, Charles H. Chicago, Ill.
 McCarthy, Thomas J. Galena, Ill.
 McDougle, Nelle Humboldt, Ill.
 Marks, Genevieve Bean Chicago, Ill.
 Marsden, Marie Galena, Ill.
 Marwick, Julia Glencoe, Ill.
 Marwick, Julius Chicago, Ill.
 Mead, Sidney E. Chicago, Ill.
 Meehan, Rev. Thomas A. Chicago, Ill.
 Meyer, Al Chicago, Ill.
 Meyer, Mrs. George F. Decatur, Ill.
 Milar, Willis H. West Chicago, Ill.
 Miller, Lloyd G. Chicago, Ill.
 Mindrup, Mrs. V. H. Edwardsville, Ill.
 Mitchell, Stephen A. Chicago, Ill.
 Monahan, Mary Arcola, Ill.
 Morris, Alta M. Chevy Chase, Md.
 Murphy, David Dixon, Ill.
 Murrah, Mrs. Frank C. Herrin, Ill.
 Neilsen, Helga Chicago, Ill.
 Nethercut, Edgar S. Evanston, Ill.
 Nickel, H. D. Nashville, Ill.
 Paul, Charles M. Peoria, Ill.
 Pehlman, Mrs. George L. Tallula, Ill.
 Perry, George W. Camden, Me.
 Pettit, Dr. Roswell T. Ottawa, Ill.
 Powell, L. E. Morrison, Ill.
 Poyer, Mr. and Mrs. Lester C.
 Des Plaines, Ill.
 Priestley, Mrs. Harriet M. Galena, Ill.
 Reeling, Mrs. Viola C. Evanston, Ill.
 Riggs, Mrs. Ralph Chicago, Ill.
 Robinson, Harry F. Chicago, Ill.
 Rogier, H. E. Vandalia, Ill.
 Rothfels, Dr. Hans Chicago, Ill.
 Sanders, Frank B. Edwardsville, Ill.
 Sargent, Mr. and Mrs. Chester V.
 Winnetka, Ill.
 Schraudenbach, Austin W., Jr.
 Champaign, Ill.
 Schrock, Allen J. Tiskilwa, Ill.
 Scott, Erma Chicago, Ill.
 Semones, Mrs. Hattie Cloverdale, Va.
 Seng, Raymond A. Wilmette, Ill.
 Sharp, Morrison Charleston, Ill.
 Shaw, Mrs. Viola M. Evanston, Ill.
 Sister Albertus Magnus River Forest, Ill.
 Sister Marie Therese Chicago, Ill.
 Smith, Mrs. Madeline Babcock Decatur, Ill.
 Stephenson, Mrs. C. E. Moline, Ill.
 Stevens, B. N. Tiskilwa, Ill.
 Streissguth, Carl Milwaukee, Wis.
 Sutton, Dr. Robert M. Urbana, Ill.
 Szold, J. T. Peoria, Ill.
 Thompson, Emory A. Hope, Ark.
 Tingley, D. F. Champaign, Ill.
 Todd, Mr. and Mrs. Clyde H.
 Carbondale, Ill.
 Tonkin, Marvin Chicago, Ill.
 Townley, Richard Bloomington, Ill.
 Tuerk, Fred W. Peoria, Ill.
 Turner, Mrs. Helen D. Champaign, Ill.
 Van Bolt, Roger H. Chicago, Ill.
 Walley, Glen D. Peoria, Ill.
 Walsh, Mary Chicago, Ill.
 Watson, Fern M. Champaign, Ill.
 Werner, Raymond C. Urbana, Ill.
 White, Mrs. William H. Wilmette, Ill.
 Whiting, Mrs. Estelle S. Chicago, Ill.
 Williams, Mrs. Antoinette L. Winnetka, Ill.
 Williams, Mrs. Robert R. Carmi, Ill.
 Willy, Dorothy E. Chicago, Ill.
 Wood, Camilla Peoria, Ill.
 Younce, Dr. Major L. Chicago, Ill.
 Young, George B. Chicago, Ill.
 Younkin, Glenn Springfield, Ill.

Again we list the names of those individuals and organizations who deserve the Society's thanks for adding new members during the period from July through December, 1948.

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 Abrahamson, Elmer E. Chicago, Ill.
- Barnhart, Joseph H. Danville, Ill.
 Bone, Dr. R. G. Urbana, Ill.
 Bowman, Rev. and Mrs. F. H. O.
 Bloomington, Ill.
 Byars, Fielding L. Peoria Heights, Ill.
- Canaday, Dayton W. Litchfield, Ill.
 Cassida, Ethel. Shelbyville, Ill.
 Chapman, Mrs. W. K. Tonica, Ill.
 Clark, Dr. Dwight F. Evanston, Ill.
 Cooke, Mrs. R. S. Springfield, Ill.
- Davis, Emery H. Anna, Ill.
 Dilliard, Irving. Collinsville, Ill.
 Dornseif, Frederic J. Chicago, Ill.
 Duffy, Mollie. Dixon, Ill.
 Dunham, Jane. Chicago, Ill.
- Evanston Historical Society... Evanston, Ill.
- Faulkner, Elizabeth. Chicago, Ill.
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 Fuller, Miles C. Peoria, Ill.
- Goltra, Mabel Hall. Jacksonville, Ill.
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 Helwig, Richard O. Chicago, Ill.
 Hertz, Gilbert G. Kankakee, Ill.
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 Hoffman, Margaret. Bloomington, Ill.
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 Jenkins, Naomi S. Chicago, Ill.
 Johnsen, O. Alf. Chicago, Ill.
 Johnson, Mrs. Joseph M. Chicago, Ill.
 Josephson, Victoria... Chicago Heights, Ill.
- Knapp, Mrs. C. E. Springfield, Ill.
- Lentz, E. G. Carbondale, Ill.
 Lewis, Paul O. Chicago, Ill.
- Lockhart, Bess M. Aurora, Ill.
 Long, Everett B. Chicago, Ill.
 Luthy, Godfrey G. Oak Hill, Ill.
- McDonough, Mrs. H. O. Albion, Ill.
 Mackenzie, Rex. Chicago, Ill.
 Marks, Genevieve B. Chicago, Ill.
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 Mathews, Dr. D'Roy. Chicago, Ill.
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 Nickel, Francis D. Chicago, Ill.
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 Rhinesmith, Arthur D. Chicago, Ill.
 Richmond, Mabel E. Decatur, Ill.
- Sargent, Mr. and Mrs. Ralph. Chicago, Ill.
 Schenk, Marion. Chicago, Ill.
 Scott, Modesta. Arcola, Ill.
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- Warren, Mildred. Mt. Vernon, Ill.
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 Woodlawn Historical Society... Chicago, Ill.

Journal
of the
ILLINOIS STATE
HISTORICAL SOCIETY

REFERENCE



JEAN BAPTISTE BEAUBIEN'S CHICAGO (1820)

SPRINGFIELD, ILLINOIS

JUNE 1949

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LLOYD DOWNS LEWIS

LLOYD DOWNS LEWIS, 1891-1949

BY JAY MONAGHAN

FROM 1937 to 1945 Lloyd Lewis served as trustee of the Illinois State Historical Library and in that capacity became a guiding influence in the development of the Historical Society which is a department of the Library. Lloyd worked constantly to have the membership in the Society increased in order that a large number of people might benefit from a knowledge of the state's history. His many books on history were all aimed at the non-professional intelligentsia. For historians to write for historians alone was a type of inbreeding repugnant to him.

Lloyd Lewis resigned from the Library board and also from his position as managing editor of the *Chicago Daily News* in order to finish a biography of Ulysses S. Grant. In the early morning hours of Thursday, April 21, 1949, he died suddenly from coronary thrombosis at his Libertyville home. The manuscript for his first Grant volume had just been completed. The shock of his very sudden death stunned the usually callous newspaper profession. Late editions of the Thursday morning papers recorded the bare facts of his life. By Saturday and Sunday the shock was subsiding and the hurt began. Dazed newsmen expressed their pain in editorials across the land. Playwright Marc Connelly flew in from New York; Governor Stevenson boarded a plane in Springfield to attend the outdoor services in the garden of the Lewis home by the Des Plaines River. On the following day Lloyd Lewis was buried in the Quaker cemetery at Pendleton, Indiana, across

Spring Valley from the farmhouse where he had been born on May 2, 1891. Beside him lay two generations of his forebears and a few Civil War soldiers under little faded Union flags—veterans of the Army of the Tennessee who in their old age had told a brilliant and inquisitive boy the things that they remembered.

Lloyd Lewis was a Quaker, reared in an atmosphere of Civil War tradition and also in the best culture of the midlands. Both his father and mother enjoyed a deep appreciation of literature, and Lloyd cut his teeth on the rhythms of Whittier, McGuffey, Will Carlton, and James Whitcomb Riley. Dickens appealed to the family rather than Scott. Always Lloyd found more companionship with his parents and his sister Louise than with distant neighbor children. His father and he rode in a buggy along soft dirt roads to town or to visit his grandfather, Joseph Lewis, and two unmarried aunts, Maude and Evangeline Lewis. Bits of philosophy from these elders embedded themselves in his character. Joseph Lewis—a great favorite—told him, "I suppose thee will never want to be known among thy friends as a good boy." Joseph himself was remembered as a rebel with a quicker answer than other members of the Friends' meeting. This is important to remember, for all his life Lloyd delighted in being the jolly rebel of the community—a man who could say things that upset satisfied people and made them laugh at themselves, too. The bigger they were the harder Lloyd struck so it was always a compliment to be attacked.

I first met Lloyd Lewis in the autumn of 1909 when we both arrived as freshmen at Swarthmore College. Even then he had thoughtful but peculiarly penetrating eyes and a mouth that smiled easily. His skill at seeing through human affectation fascinated me. Perhaps the attraction was enhanced because certain professors at college were the victims of his acumen. I remember we read *Tom Sawyer* together instead of memorizing characterless logarithms. The pages about the

school children showing off before the pompous visitor tickled both our funny bones. We gloated over the young lady teachers who showed off too, lifting pretty warning fingers at bad little boys. We liked the description of the school librarian flitting hither and yon with arms full of books and face glowing with the exaltation of "insect authority." Then came the nubbin—the popper of the story—the part where the visitor, superior to all the little show-offs, begins to show off himself.

In class after class Lloyd pointed out similar scenes of professorial "showing-off" that have haunted me from that day to this—and certainly have cheered many a tedious lecture in my graduate student days. At Swarthmore, too, I'm sure that I learned more of lasting value from Lloyd Lewis than from the professors. The refreshing thing about Lloyd then and later was his ability to see an element in a situation that was perfectly plain after he pointed it out but invisible before he did so. For example, I remember sitting with him in 1928 at a stockmen's convention, watching a demonstration of meat cutting. Lloyd whispered that the butcher surrounded with his red blocks of meat reminded him of a bishop at high mass. The likeness was perfect, and when the august fellow cut a lamb into a crown roast we saw through the tears of stifled laughter a perfect enactment of the crowning of Charles VII in Reims. Years later, with Governor Henry Horner, Lloyd was present when a lesser politico received a kindly but firm reprimand. Lloyd said, "As I watched the Governor, I heard his collar twitch. It began to turn around on his neck. His coat, chameleon-like, took on a ruddy color, and I could see a lace chasuble on his shoulders. For a moment I knew that I was watching a great pontiff dealing with a devout but erring believer. Then the Governor's collar turned back around on his neck and I saw that he was Henry Horner, the state's Chief Executive once more."

One of the characteristics peculiar to Lloyd Lewis was his ability to laugh with Henry Horner, or any other man whom

he respected, over these flights of imagination—and the great men never got angry or provoked. “They never do,” Lloyd told me once, “if you’re careful and never joke with a fool. Grandfather used to tell me that out in Pendleton when I was a kid.”

Lloyd Lewis did not distinguish himself at college for academic performance. He did an outstanding job editing the school paper and got into trouble for printing some uncomplimentary truths about the college board of managers. He liked to dance, followed the athletic teams and pitched on the second baseball nine. Campus mischief also attracted him. One night he and I painted our class numerals inside the translucent library clock, a feat of some daring that required scaling the clocktower with buckets of paint. Every quarter-hour the clock struck with accompanying chimes while sharp propeller blades fanned the machinery to blow away dust. We had to wait until the interval between chimes to crawl through the blades and paint like fury so we could get out before the deadly machinery began to whirl again. On another night we experimented with the psychology of fear in a manner not taught in class. We noticed the night watchman eyeing us suspiciously and decided to test his nerve. Both of us darted behind trees, peered out at him, ran forward and back like stealthy Indians in pantomime. The watchman stood it for a few minutes then his courage failed him. He drew his revolver, shot, and retreated heroically into the nearest dormitory—typical example of showing off. Lloyd’s eyes sparkled. “We’ve been under fire,” he said.

At Swarthmore Lloyd had to change his major a time or two before he could find a corps of teachers bright enough to discern his talents. On Commencement Day he was not sure that he would get his degree. Great applause from the students greeted the final decision and Lloyd has always been the class of 1913’s most distinguished son. Yet, to the end, he always maintained that it took him ten years to outgrow the hatred of history he developed in class at Swarthmore. While Lloyd

Lewis was rebelling against academic history I gained my first fondness for the subject—not in class, however, but from the conversation of Lloyd Lewis. A story of his about Tom Corwin of Ohio was responsible for my decision to lay down the scalpel and begin studying man's actions instead of his organs. I wonder how much the compelling character of Lloyd Lewis has affected the lives of others besides myself—plenty, I'm sure.

At college Lloyd Lewis displayed another trait that would be lifelong—his liberal position in politics. Lloyd came to Swarthmore a defender of Uncle Joe Cannon, who was considered a hopeless reactionary by people who believed themselves liberals. Lloyd knew all the answers about prosperity under conservatism: high tariff, high wages, and a high standard of living. His Civil War background in Pendleton rested on Republican principles forged in the Bessemer flame of the nation's hottest of all wars. In 1912 he opposed Roosevelt's bolting the party but during the campaign Lloyd changed. It was a great emotional experience for I remember he wrote me a letter about it from Pendleton early in the summer. He began with the usual humorous descriptions of farm life. Milking cows, he said, was uncomfortable as it had always been. Cows had a bad way of switching a fellow in the face with their frayed-wire tails. Lloyd said that he had tried to take advantage of his new college education by applying academic ingenuity in the cowshed. He had tied Bossy's tail down to a brick, but the scheme failed. She'd swung tail, brick and all, and knocked him off his stool as neatly as Jack Johnson could have done. Then Lloyd told about the political convention, Teddy Roosevelt's Armageddon speech and the seething reaction in the Midwest. He said that he and his father had decided to man the barricades.

Lloyd took another step away from the Republican Party during Woodrow Wilson's second administration but he did not make up his mind to be a Democrat permanently until

Coolidge's presidency, although Harding certainly helped mightily to make up his mind. To the end I believe that Lloyd considered himself part of the Bull Moose bolt from the Republican Party but he lived to say that Teddy Roosevelt was something of a Boy Scout "who did everything that I wanted to do when I was twelve years old."

For two years after Lloyd was graduated he worked for the *North American* in Philadelphia. A few of his feature stories on midland rural life written for the Sunday supplement disclosed the future ahead of him. Then his father died suddenly and Lloyd, with his mother and sister, moved to Chicago to live. He had heard about the Windy City from boyhood neighbors who attended the World's Fair. Farmers took their hogs to the stockyards annually and came back with grotesque stories. Lloyd had been there, too, as a visitor but his first job on the old *Record Herald* was open-sesame to everything he treasured for the remainder of his life. I happened to be going through Chicago to a ranch I owned in Colorado on the day of Lloyd's first big assignment—the capsizing of the *Eastland* in the Chicago River with the loss of 812 people. On another trip across the continent I dropped in at the *Record Herald* office and was told by Lloyd in a gay voice that the paper had "gone broke," would I wait a half hour until he finished the story he was writing, then he must hunt another job. During that afternoon I realized for the first time how Lloyd had become perfect master of any situation. The office was full of excited reporters, both men and women, talking about the crash, wondering where they could get new jobs, boasting about offers, promising scoops, in short, "showing off." Lloyd saw through it all as he always did. When he finished his story he turned in the copy and we went home. Lloyd bought a box of candy for his mother and gave it to her with the bad news. We had a jolly evening looking at quaint pictures of the Columbian Exposition. Next day I traveled west to Colorado and when I heard from Lloyd again he was work-

ing for Hearst. A society editor, he said, named Mary Dougherty, was teaching him more about reporting than he ever knew before, how to build up interest in one character whether he be athlete, actor, or financier; how to identify the reader with this character and make his problems and achievements the reader's own. Lloyd married this famous newspaper woman's sister, Kathryn, in 1925.

With the coming of World War I, Lloyd served in the Navy as Chief Petty Officer of Intelligence on Navy Pier. He commuted daily from his home in Hyde Park. The Illinois Central suburban trains ran along the water front in those days and once when a gale blew heavy seas over the track Lloyd walked the full length of the train, getting splashed on every platform, laughing that no one could say he was a sailor who didn't know rough weather. The irrepressible Navy man in his blue uniform and visored cap also used to stand on the platform at 54th Street and ask people for their tickets. Passengers were unused to uniforms in those days. Once a Swarthmore fraternity brother in the new tailored tunic of a second lieutenant stopped for a visit at the hospitable Lewis home. In the morning Lloyd led him down to the train a little late. To make the train Lloyd climbed over a sooty gate. The Lieutenant followed. Then, with his immaculate olive drab hopelessly smeared, the Army man realized that an open passageway had been available at one side all the time.

Lloyd always relished practical jokes of this kind. Years later at the height of his fame as a drama critic he was walking out of the theater once when he spied the renowned *Chicago Tribune* columnist, Charles Collins, taking a short cut behind the popcorn counter. Lloyd whistled to attract the attention of the first nighters. Then he tapped a quarter on the glass counter and called to Collins, "Boy, give me two Crackerjacks, please."

After World War I, Lloyd became publicity man for Balaban & Katz with an office in the Roosevelt Theater. He carried several private press agent accounts as well. I was dis-

charged from the Aviation Section at Chanute Field at this time and immediately afterward met Lloyd at luncheon with Frank Lloyd Wright in Chicago. The sheep business was booming in the West and I had a herd of cattle leased on shares. Sheep seemed much better property but we knew that the cowmen would fight if we tried to bring them on my old range. Lloyd and I decided that the jig was worth the music and in the spring of 1919 we went into partnership, moved a herd of sheep from Utah into the forbidden territory of Colorado. The scrap we were looking for came quickly. Our banker heard about a threatened raid and sent word for us to pay up or move. I hired a small army of riflemen, set them to work chopping down trees and hewing out water troughs for the sheep. Then I wired Lloyd to come see the fireworks. Over on the stage line across the Uintah Basin I met him with two fast horses. A ride of a day and a half put us in the mountains at the sheep camp. As yet there had been no shooting but we learned that the cowboys were moving a supply of coffee and flour into a cabin ten miles away. That sounded bad. We felt pretty safe with our "army" but the cost promised to consume all our profits. We worked out a plan to dismiss our army and still stay on the range. Why not file homesteads around the sheep and let Uncle Sam protect us settlers from unlawful attacks of cattle barons? I had already used my rights but Lloyd offered to file and so did several of our young horsemen. We selected one of them to accompany us to the land office and act as witness. He was a likable, laughing fellow named Jabez who stood around with his mouth open. The three of us slipped out of camp after dark and headed for the town of Lay seventy-five miles away. This was like painting the college clock again.

Next morning we were in an entirely different country, but the rising sun kept us from losing direction. We decided to pass ourselves off as traveling cowboys in case we met any riders. As the sun rose, confidence in our companion went down. We wondered if he would be able to keep his mouth

shut in an emergency. During the day we jumped a coyote and Jabe spurred away shooting and yelling. Lloyd and I watched from a knoll until the animal escaped. I remember how Lloyd laughed when we saw the rider coming back looking reproachfully at his gun, evidently blaming that weapon for his own failure. "Baseball players will do that same thing," Lloyd said, "but the bleachers are on to them. How the crowd howls when a man is struck out and looks to see if his bat is crooked."

That night, very tired and hungry, we rode into a ranch. Some cowmen fed us a good supper and bunked us in an empty granary. Jabe had talked too much, as we were sure he would, and we wrapped up in our saddle blankets confident that our identity was suspected. The men looked like tough characters. One had an eye knocked out. Another was snaggle-toothed and had hair on his nose. A third, with a "chalk eye," wore a hard, sinister look. We could hear them mumbling in the log house after we lay down and they did not blow out the light for what seemed an unnecessarily long time. Lloyd had a Luger that a classmate had brought back from Germany after the war. Jabe and I had Colts and Winchesters. We all took turns watching and sleeping. Lloyd enjoyed every minute of it and next morning after we were out of sight of the cabins he kept us roaring with laughter as he mimicked "the cock-eyed cattlemen." Jabe, convulsed with mirth, begged Lloyd not to tell another story until we came to a place where there "ain't no pricklypears so's a feller can roll on the ground and have his laugh out."

At the land office we had another laugh when the Register-and-Receiver got mixed up on the forms, didn't know a desert entry from a homestead, and warned his wife not to fill in the blanks as she had done on the "last batch that was sent back on us."

For fourteen years Lloyd and I were partners in the sheep business. I came East at shipping time each fall and enjoyed a few days of Lloyd Lewis hospitality—lavish living and the-

aters. Every summer he came West—at first alone but later with Kathryn and friends. How the girls' eyes danced when we sat down at table with a dozen rangemen in high-heeled boots and weather-warped faces! We usually took a pack trip visiting the camps.

Lloyd delighted in the original philosophy of the herders. Old Tom Blevins' Gargantuan imagination reminded Lloyd of Rabelais and he immortalized the ancient cowman in *It Takes All Kinds*. Shrewd and witty Oscar Collet made Lloyd think of Voltaire and after one trip Lloyd sent him a box of College Inn canned delicacies because Oscar had said that some day he hoped to taste "hummen-bird tongues and patty-de-funny-de-graugh." With Juan Torres, half-breed from the camp of Geronimo, the cutthroat Indian, Lloyd listened to talk about love. I had enjoyed all of these fellows but Lloyd proved to me the fineness of his mind when he came to the ranch house one afternoon with good stories about the ranch blacksmith, a dull fellow indeed. Yet Lloyd had found colors in him warm and vivid as the heat waves on the steel old Jimmie tempered. "Any reporter can make a good story out of a good event," Lloyd used to say. "A good newspaperman is one who can make a good story out of a drab event." Lloyd Lewis was a superlative newsman by anyone's standards.

In 1929 Lloyd sent me a copy of his first book, *Myths After Lincoln*. He had told me that the book was almost finished when I was East at shipping time the previous fall. To read on the Pullman he had supplied me with several notes and pamphlets on the age-old "dying god legend," and asked me to read them carefully. He thought that the American people had used Lincoln to satisfy a craving for a national dying god. The trip from Chicago to the ranch consumed four of the gone days of twenty years ago, so I read and reread all Lloyd's material and agreed that he had a case. When the book came I opened the package at White River Ranch twenty-one miles below Meeker, Colorado, and I'm sure that I was more excited than

Lloyd had been when I first saw his name on the title page. Then I began to read:

It was strangely quiet even for Sunday, this ninth day of April, 1865, as Ulysses S. Grant jogged along the Virginia road that led to Appomattox Court House, his head drooping on his stubby little body. . . . Extraordinary spectacle, this man Grant as he rode to Appomattox. Whatever he was at that moment he owed to war. . . . yet he hated war, and for all his terrible willingness to fight, he had been scheming and scheming to stop the bloody business—scheming to halt the very thing that was making him immortal. . . .

Into a two-story brick house on the edge of a tiny village he went as to his own surrender, dust and ashes over his mussed uniform, a private's stained overcoat upon his back, looking, as he entered, like a Missouri farmer who had by mistake crawled into a blouse that carried, unnoticed, three little silver stars on its shoulders.

Awaiting him was Lee, who of all men knew that those stars were no mistake. . . .

The pages read today as well as they did twenty years ago. Perhaps they will read as well twenty, or forty years hence, for here are the three dimensions that immortalized Parkman as a historian—design, color, and fact.

Reviewers were more unkind to *Myths After Lincoln* than to any other book Lloyd Lewis ever wrote. Maybe the thesis was too unorthodox, the mode of presenting an unpleasant conclusion too compelling for comfort. In spite of the critics Lloyd's first book was reprinted abroad within ten years and distributed in America as a Blue Ribbon Book. In 1941 the Readers Club selected it for a new printing and a paper-backed edition of 250,000 copies was sent to servicemen overseas. The volume is one of the few in the vast area of Lincolniana that influenced later research and publications.

My copy of *Myths After Lincoln* contained the following inscription in Lloyd's handwriting: "To J. Monaghan for twenty years my best friend with the hope that this will not interrupt our friendship for the next twenty." Exactly twenty years elapsed before that friendship was interrupted on April 21, 1949. Another book came to me on the ranch from Lloyd in 1929. It was autographed "To J. my closest friend ('closest'

in this world certainly and probably my only friend in the next)." This volume, *Chicago, the History of Its Reputation*, had Part II written by Henry Justin Smith, managing editor of the *Chicago Daily News*, and I was not surprised to learn that Lloyd had given up his job with the Balaban & Katz theaters to become drama critic on the *News*. In *Chicago as in Myths After Lincoln* Lloyd held the reader for chapter after chapter with passages such as this one from page 73:

To the roaring frontier city in 1855 there comes a certain Kentuckian with a black slouch hat on his massive head and a ten-year-old Yale diploma behind him in some Lexington attic—a gusty youth of thirty, familiar with Paris and Berlin, leaving St. Louis now to have a look at this place called Chicago. The girl whom he has just married is with him, yet even on his honeymoon he falls in love with the city—so much in love that all the rest of his life he will call Chicago his "bride."

He walks around the streets, then says, "I think Chicago is destined to be the greatest city on this continent. I have decided to cast my lot with it." And, like a Doge of Venice marrying the Adriatic Sea, Carter H. Harrison the First weds himself to the city whose young figure he can see ripening under its blowsy homespun dress.

With these two books Lloyd Lewis took his place as one of the famous Chicago School—Carl Sandburg, Sherwood Anderson, Ben Hecht, Theodore Dreiser, and others—a group of writers who, for a decade, made Chicago the literary capital of the world. In 1932 Lloyd Lewis wrote *Sherman: Fighting Prophet* and was awarded a Phi Beta Kappa key from the Swarthmore chapter.

Lloyd was particularly well suited for this definitive biography. Like Sherman he grew up in the midlands and also he knew Civil War documents as well as any man. In addition Lloyd was a great artist. His genius lay in his ability to mix the colors available in historical sources into a single vivid picture. Sherman was reared as a son in the large family of Thomas Ewing—Old Solitude. Later he married Old Solitude's daughter. Note how Lloyd words it:

Love between them was ripening slowly, almost without recognition. None of the Ewing family could ever say when the bond between the

boy and girl had ceased to be that of brother and sister and begun to be that of man and maid. The change came as easily as spring glided into summer each year in the Hockhocking Valley.

A classic chapter in *Sherman* is Lloyd's prose-poetry description of the night Sherman made his great decision, cut himself free from his base and marched blindly to the sea. Equally gripping is the description of Sherman's tattered and barefoot soldiers tramping past the reviewing stand in Washington at the end of the war:

The Capitol was blooming with flags. The morning was bright and soft. A cannon boomed. Nine o'clock! Sherman shook a spur; his horse stepped forward, drumsticks made the air flutter like flying canister or wild-geese wings. Bands blared into "The Star-spangled Banner." Around the corner of the Capitol the Westerners came.

Stage fright stuck in plowboys' throats. The roofs and trees were black with people. Pennsylvania Avenue stretched like a long, long river between human banks. White handkerchiefs waved like apple blossoms in an Indiana wind. Boys' eyes caught blurred sights of signs spanning the avenue—"Hail to the Western Heroes" . . . "Hail, Champions of Belmont, Donelson, Shiloh, Vicksburg, Chattanooga, Atlanta, Savannah, Bentonville—Pride of the Nation."

Cheers crashed against the blushing faces of the marchers. Their lips twitched and their eyes fell in self-consciousness. Many of them wished they were back among the swamps of Carolina—even among the bullets of Vicksburg. J. W. Anderson, Company G, Nineteenth Illinois, heard people pray as his regiment swept by; he noted sobbing women hold up babies to see the soldiers. Mourning still hung on buildings—mourning for Lincoln. Grape draped all flags. Now and then curious cheers welled up from the marching men, wild cries arising from the excitement and from comprehending at last the tremendous miles behind them.

Sherman, riding ahead, his old slouch hat in hand—the sun on his red hair—was listening to the tread of his men. Sometimes in sudden hushes he could hear one footfall behind him. The hushes came when ambulances rolled by with bloodstained stretchers fastened on their sides. Gales of laughter followed hushes, as at the end of the corps came Negro refugees of both sexes and all ages, leading or riding mules, walking beside wagons filled with tents and kettles surmounted by turkeys and pet raccoons. Pigs grunted from end gates here and there. Gamecocks rode cannon, crowing. Ragamuffin Negroes bearing Revolutionary blunderbusses grinned at guffawing spectators.

Sherman hoped, as perhaps he had never hoped anything in his lifetime, that his men were marching well. They sounded all right, but he couldn't be sure in the roaring current of noise. They *must* show the East

that they were not "an undisciplined mob." Sherman neared the White House, where the test would come. Ellen would be in the stand, with Tommy and Old Solitude; Willy's eyes would not be there to shine. Cold eyes of elegant society people would be leveled.

Sherman's horse walked up the avenue slope before the Treasury Building. In a minute it would swing to the right and come into view of the stand. Behind him he heard the tumult growing louder. Were his wild young fellows behaving? He dared not look back; he had ordered everybody to hold eyes front.

He was on the crest of the rise now. He could hold his nerves no longer. He spun in the saddle and looked. A blissful thrill ran to his finger tips. His legions were coming in line, every man locked in steady formation—formal for perhaps the first and the last time in their lives. "They have swung into it," said Sherman to himself. Long afterwards he said, "I believe it was the happiest and most satisfactory moment of my life."

The whole army was thin. Carl Schurz, in the stand, felt his heart leap as the Westerners wheeled into view—"nothing but bone and muscle and skin under their tattered battle-flags." Their flags were thin, too, from winds and bullets—many were nothing but shreds of faded red and white and blue. Cheers drowned the bands. The street in front of the stand was ankle-deep in flowers—worn heels, bare heels, kept step among the roses.

For these vivid descriptions Lloyd depended on regimental histories. Another great historian, John Bach McMaster, is pointed out as the writer who taught the profession to use contemporary newspapers. Lloyd Lewis deserves equal recognition among his fellows for popularizing regimental histories as a source for what the man in the ranks really thought, said, and did. As trustee of the Illinois State Historical Library, Lloyd continually urged the purchase of such volumes. The generosity of Alfred W. Stern, of Chicago, has made this desire of Lewis' come true and today the Historical Library contains what is perhaps the best Civil War library in the world.

Three years after writing *Sherman: Fighting Prophet*, Lloyd collaborated with Sinclair Lewis on a play, *The Jayhawker*. It was smashing drama at the first curtain but after that their plot failed to hold the audience. Lloyd always said that he did not understand the game and should not have tried

t—a revealing reply disclosing one sinew of Lloyd Lewis' strength: his ability to measure his own talents, in other words 'good judgment.' Lord Beaconsfield is credited with refusing to toss a cricket ball into the field saying, "One should despise an exercise in which he cannot excel." Lloyd worded it with more force, "I don't understand long division and a monkey wrench is a profound mystery to me."

As a desk head in the drama department of the *Chicago Daily News*, Lloyd was supposed to eat luncheon with other chiefs. Managing Editor Henry Justin Smith presided ascetically at the table's center. Lloyd admired Smith but he usually made excuses to escape the regal luncheon board, preferring to eat with a cronie or two—sometimes Howard Vincent O'Brien and Howard Mann—at a counter in the North Western station. Official recognition of rank or social class always bored Lloyd. Individuals, not organizations, appealed to his fancy, and it made no difference if the man was a taxicab driver, Pullman porter, professional poet, baseball player, prize fighter, actor, U. S. senator, or governor, provided he was genuine, unaffected, enjoyed wit and originality.

Strangely enough, campus life always tempted the man who as a boy hated history in school. Once he seriously considered taking a salary reduction of sixty-six per cent to teach at Carleton College. "Think of being paid," he told me, "for talking an hour or two a day about the thing that interests me most in life!" For a term he lectured at the University of Chicago.

In 1936 Lloyd wrote, with Henry Justin Smith, *Oscar Wilde Discovers America*. The book was Smith's idea. He had already collected many notes on the subject when he asked his dramatic critic to collaborate. Lloyd tackled the job with his usual diligence and insistence that no source be left unexplored. I went from the ranch up to Leadville to search for Wilde material in that onetime boom town. Then I boarded the train for Denver and spent a week among the newspaper

files of 1882 picking, shoveling, and assaying every nugget of Oscar Wilde ore I could find. The book appeared at the time Lloyd assumed another duty on the *News*. He was appointed sports editor as well as drama critic. "It's a job," he wrote, "to keep Ethel Barrymore from playing third base"—but he did and in addition to managing both departments, built a Frank Lloyd Wright house at Libertyville—a dream house for him and Kathryn if ever there was one. Lloyd straightened out the crookedest phase of professional sport with his usual effective satire. Sham and artifice had never deceived him since college days. He saw at once that wrestling matches were framed with melodramatic hammer locks, half nelsons, groans, and grimaces. To the promoters' chagrin, Lloyd reported them on the drama instead of the sports page. Professional wrestling has never been taken seriously since. In the thick of this disclosure Lloyd wrote, on contract for the *Prairie Farmer*, a biography entitled *John S. Wright, Prophet of the Prairies*. This thin volume of two hundred and fifteen pages was not generally reviewed but it warrants more recognition than it received for in it Lloyd Lewis excavated some hitherto unused material on the wool operations in Ohio of Old John Brown in the days before his body "lay a-moulderin' in de grave."

Lloyd Lewis received his last promotion in 1943 when he became managing editor of the *News*. He moved into the top office overlooking the Chicago River and placed his desk with his back to the window. "I know the kind of people who will come in here," he said, "to ask for favors and space, and tell about news that is going to break. Some will be dependable but there will also be gangsters and grafters, crooks and impostors. I want those people to sit with the light in their faces. They'll look out the windows, see things, watch the sea gulls flying up the river. That will distract their minds ever so little but it will give me an advantage that I'll need."

Burdened with great responsibility and daily deadlines Lloyd watched his health. I was with him one day at the Pres-

byterian Hospital after a minor operation. We expected the doctor in a few minutes to administer a very painful dressing. Lloyd talked about history, politics, baseball, drama, until the doctor arrived and the nurse laid out the instruments. Then Lloyd reached for the phone and called the office. He outlined plans for department after department, made suggestions, discussed pictures to be taken. When the doctor finished, Lloyd hung up the receiver. Perhaps he had not really felt the pain too much. Certainly no reader of the *News* ever suspected what excruciating stimulation had guided the next edition of the paper hawked on the street.

After the death of Frank Knox everyone knew that the *News* would be sold. Rumors said that John S. Knight was considering the purchase. One day Marc Connelly, the playwright, stopped to see Lloyd. A whisper went through the big office that Knight had come. Lloyd heard it and decided to give the staff the thrill they wanted. With Connelly he inspected the plant. Reporters pounded typewriters, everyone was busy making a good impression on the new boss. Connelly played his part in the deception, pompously asking questions, making profound suggestions about better efficiency.

In 1945 Lloyd retired to his picturesque home at Libertyville to write the volumes that he had planned for years. "I can hear the guns of Shiloh," he told associates. He plowed a good garden spot among the trees and experimented with hogs and chickens. A picture of his pigs lying on clean straw reading pages of *Fortune*, tacked on the side of their pen for insulation, gained some notoriety. The Lewis house—not the hog house—was constantly full of notables: Marc Connelly, Carl Sandburg, Frank Lloyd Wright, Oscar Hammerstein, Alexander Woollcott, Marshall Field, F.P.A. People wondered how Lloyd ever had time to write. Harcourt, Brace and Company published a volume of his magazine stories and newspaper columns entitled *It Takes All Kinds*. Northwestern University displayed academic vision by conferring a doctorate



LLOYD LEWIS JOINS CARL SANDBURG IN A BALLAD

on the rare scholar who had reached an outstanding eminence by non-academic trestles. Lloyd joined the Newberry Library staff as an editorial consultant and he wrote a weekly column for the *Chicago Sun*—later the *Sun-Times*. A new book, *Granger Country*, co-edited by Lewis with Stanley Pargellis, was in press at the time of Lloyd's death. Two weeks before Lloyd died he asked me to collaborate with him on a pictorial history of western horror prints—the amusingly horrendous illustrations of massacres, train robberies, scalping episodes that had given the semi-literate people their ideas about the frontier. This book, mind you, was in addition to the four volumes he planned for Grant and a Kansas history that had been on ice for a decade. Yet with all this pressure of ideas Lloyd never seemed in a hurry. He always had time to talk with anyone and ugly problems had a way of becoming both humorous and unimportant after chewing them over with Lloyd. Children particularly delighted him and he would drop almost anything for an hour with their laughter.

Lloyd's favorite game with youngsters was "going to the opera." It took three for all the parts. Each little girl would be given a suitable name such as Mrs. Stuyvesant Fish, Mrs. Sturdevant Webster, or perhaps Lady Augusta. If a little boy joined the party he was called "Mr. Peabody." The children all sat on Lloyd's lap. He cautioned them to be dignified as opera was a social function of great importance. Then without warning he spread his legs and began tossing the amazed youngsters around while he censured them: "Mrs. Fish, do sit up straight." "Oh, Mr. Peabody, what is the matter with you?" "Lady Augusta, you have no idea how ridiculous you look." Of course, Lady Augusta was standing on her head by this time and Mr. Peabody was squealing with delight as his head snapped back and forth like a coffee-pot lid. Children seldom forgot such a frolic. No wonder awkward little hands traced out letters of sympathy when told that Uncle Lloyd had died.

The love of little children was one of the unforgettable

characteristics of this unforgettable man. At his funeral the silence of youngsters whose legs hung wanly from their chairs testified that they, too, had lost a friend. In other chairs sat Chicago's best writers, columnists, sports editors, captains of finance and beside them at least one journeyman printer sobbing to himself, "Me know Lloyd Lewis? Why I woiked for the guy eight years."

Above and beyond the mourners, spring winds danced among wild flowers on the river bank and whipped the branches overhead. Marc Connelly opened the services by saying, "Lloyd was the most successful man I have ever known. He was at home with all mankind." Governor Adlai Stevenson closed the services with a tribute to Lloyd's wisdom and wit: "I think it will always be April in our memory of him. It will always be a bright, fresh day, full of the infinite variety and the promise of new life. Perhaps nothing has gone at all—perhaps only the *embodiment* of the thing—tender, precious to all of us—a friendship that is immortal and doesn't pass along. It will be renewed for me, much as I know it will for all of you, each spring."

Thus did the simple Quaker service end. In one of the chairs, Mike Todd, Broadway theatrical producer, said abruptly to Claudia Cassidy, "Lloyd was the closest to religion I ever got." Yes, all the friends of Lloyd Lewis' will have a hard time adjusting themselves to his passing. He seemed young to go, but one thing is certain. He read more, remembered more, and lived more in his fifty-seven years than most human beings do in twice that time. Moreover, his jokes, his stories, his homely wisdom, and the majesty of his prose will outlive all of us. Today and tomorrow it will hurt not to hear his infectious laugh when busy people stop a moment to make merry. The hurt will be worse later as we realize that we will never again hear our own laughter at his bright, breezy, and unexpected sallies.

THE BEAUBIEN CLAIM

BY CARL B. RODEN

IN the summer of 1836, Chicago, then a town of some 4,500 inhabitants, experienced its first considerable land boom, touched off by the sale of "canal lots" from the vast tract granted by Congress to the state of Illinois to finance the construction of the Illinois and Michigan Canal. The sale was the third of the efforts of the Canal Commissioners to raise funds, and became the most successful under the stimulus of the well publicized digging of the "first shovelful of earth" for the new project on the Fourth of July. This took place at a point on the north fork of the south branch of the Chicago River, then far out on the prairies, but now near the intersection of Ashland Avenue and Twenty-seventh Street, in a settlement called Canal Port. The Chicago party, arriving there by boat on the river, and by vehicles on the rough roads, and described in a contemporary newspaper account as "a tour of our more turbulent citizens" engaged in a day of oratory and feasting to signalize the event.

Among the contributing causes to the success of the sale was the considerable amount of loose money left in Chicago from the great pay-off following the Treaty of 1833, when the United Tribes of Potawatomi, Chippewas, and Ottawas were called together to sign away their lands east of the Mis-

Carl B. Roden, librarian of the Chicago Public Library since 1918, has been on the staff of that institution since 1886. No one, perhaps, has a deeper affection for the site of the Beaubien Claim, nor is anyone better qualified to tell its story.

Mississippi and reluctantly move to new abodes in Iowa and Missouri. Besides the new land grants, several hundred thousand dollars in cash was distributed to the assembled Indians, and to a surprising number of white claimants in payment of various and mostly dubious losses and damages. A good portion of this easy money remained in town in the hands of individuals prone to part with it as easily as they had come by it.¹

Harriet Martineau, that redoubtable British bluestocking, arrived in Chicago when the boom was at its height, and in the inevitable book she wrote about her American travels—her tenth in a total of thirty-six and her second about America—she recorded with something like bated breath the scenes and sounds she encountered. A young lawyer of her acquaintance had been taking in five hundred dollars a day for the past five days making out land titles,² and another friend “had realised, in two years, ten times as much money as he had before fixed upon as a competence for life.” Miss Martineau continues:

Others besides lawyers and speculators by trade, make a fortune in such extraordinary times. A poor man at Chicago had a pre-emption right to some land, for which he paid in the morning one hundred and fifty dollars. In the afternoon, he sold it to a friend of mine for five thousand dollars. A poor Frenchman, married to a squaw, had a suit pending, when I was there, which he was likely to gain, for the right of purchasing some land by the lake for one hundred dollars, which would immediately become worth one million dollars.

There was also, Miss Martineau observes, a pleasant social life in the little town, and “some allowable pride in the place about its society. . . . There is a mixture, of course. I heard of a family of half-breeds setting up a carriage, and wearing fine jewellery.”³

The young lawyer who had reaped five hundred dollars

¹ James R. Haydon, *Chicago's True Founder*, Thomas J. V. Owen (Lombard, Ill., 1934), 180.

² Alfred T. Andreas, *History of Chicago* (Chicago, 1884) remarks in a footnote to page 431 of volume I, “Mrs. Martineau was very deaf and mistook \$50 for \$500.”

³ Harriet Martineau, *Society in America* (London, 1837), I: 350-53. See also “Prairie Tourists” on page 220 in the Illinois Scrapbook section of this issue.

a day on the side lines has been identified as either Isaac Newton Arnold, afterwards Congressman and friend and biographer of Lincoln, or, somewhat more plausibly, as Joseph Nerée Bales⁴ who left Chicago for New York a few years later and eventually returned to his family home near Brattleboro, Vermont, to become, in due course, the grandfather of Mrs. Rudyard Kipling.⁵



John B. Bales

—From A. T. Andreas, *History of Chicago*, Vol. I, P. 266.

⁴ Andreas, *History of Chicago*, I: 431.

⁵ *Dictionary of American Biography*, Vol. I, page 550, article on "Charles Wolcott Bales-tier." His sister, Caroline, married Rudyard Kipling in 1892.

And the poor Frenchman who had a suit pending that was to gain him a million dollars was Jean Baptiste Beaubien, who gave his name to the Beaubien Claim, one of the more fantastic episodes in Chicago's history. If Miss Martineau had found her way to his humble home on the Fort Dearborn Reservation east of the town, on the west bank of the river as it oozed its way southward into Lake Michigan, she would have discovered that he was also the head of the family of half-breeds that sported a carriage and wore "fine jewellery" and, incidentally, owned the first piano ever seen or heard in these parts.

The Congressional land grant to the Illinois Canal Commissioners was made in 1827, and comprised no less than 384,000 acres in alternate sections five miles wide on both sides of the river down, or up, to its source in the prairies, and thence southwest along the surveyed course of the canal to its junction with the Illinois River. Section Nine, being the easternmost complete section in the government survey, was designated by the U. S. Land Office as the starting point of the grant, and one of the first acts of the Commissioners, after funds became available, was to order the platting of a town on that section. This was done in 1830 by James Thompson, a St. Louis surveyor, who gave his town the name of the river that ran through it. The Thompson map of 1830 thus marks the beginning of Chicago as a geographical locality. Section Nine embraced the area now bounded by Chicago Avenue and Madison Street, north and south, and State to Halsted streets, east and west. The town itself, as originally laid out, covered somewhat less than half the section, extending only from Kinzie to Madison Street, and westward from State Street to Desplaines. A similar town laid out by the same surveyor at the point where the projected canal would join the Illinois River was named Ottawa.

Beyond State Street, from Chicago Avenue to Madison Street, lay Fractional Section Ten, its eastern border marked by the meandering shores of Lake Michigan. This was still

public land, particularly that portion of it north of the river. On the south bank, about on the present line of Michigan Avenue, stood Fort Dearborn from 1804 to its destruction in the Massacre of 1812. Subsequently rebuilt and at intervals re-garrisoned, the Fort was finally evacuated in 1836 and turned over to the federal officers in charge of harbor works.⁶ Several of its buildings remained standing into the 1850's, and one of the present writer's forebears was fond of recalling how, as a youngster, he had often trespassed upon that no-man's land in search of adventure. South of the Fort, beyond the stockade originally enclosing it, stood a number of buildings that were occupied, off and on, by sundry individuals—sutlers, traders, and plain squatters, of whom the most important, resourceful, and businesslike was Jean Baptiste Beaubien, the poor Frenchman whose lawsuit came to Miss Martineau's attention.

Beaubien was born in Detroit in 1787. His family was French-Canadian, dating back for several generations as trappers and traders. He first turned up in Chicago in 1804, shortly after the erection of Fort Dearborn, when he began to make occasional trips down the Lake from his small trading post at Milwaukee. In 1812 he bought a log cabin on the Fort Reservation which he used as a shelter and which afterward figured in his legal battles as evidence of his early establishment on the disputed ground. His first wife, a full-blooded Indian, died some time before 1812 leaving two sons who grew to manhood in Chicago. In the latter year he married Josette La Framboise, not exactly a squaw, as Miss Martineau describes her, but the daughter of a prosperous trader and his Ottawa Indian wife, living some miles up the South Branch of the river at a place called Hardscrabble.

Beaubien's continuous residence in the environs of the Fort began in 1817 when he was stationed in Chicago as subagent for a Detroit firm of traders and bought, for the

⁶ John Wentworth, *Early Chicago. Fort Dearborn* (Chicago, 1881), 35.



CHICAGO IN BEAUBIEN'S TIME AND NOW

Information for this composite map was taken from a number of sources—the streets and present outline of the river are from 1925 plat of the City Map Department of Chicago, and the Fort Dearborn Reservation and old course of the river are from surveys and maps made from 1821 to 1855 which were later corrected to include additional data. On the composite map are: (A) Fort Dearborn and Reservation, (B) garden for Fort, (C) cultivated field belonging to Fort, (D) U. S. Factor's Houses (E) John Craft's house and lot, (F) Fort cemetery, (G) Dr. Wolcott's place, zig-zag lines indicate rail fences, (I) road to Reservation, (1) Kinzie house, (2) wash house for Fort, (3) shop for Fort, (4) Fort Dearborn well, (7) gate to Reservation (8) mouth of river. The composite map, by Robert Knight, is from Robert Knight and Lucius H. Zeuch *The Location of the Chicago Portage Route of the Seventeenth Century* (Chicago Historical Society, 1928), where further discussion of this subject may be found on pages 83 to 89.

respectable sum of \$1,000, the house and spacious grounds of one John Dean, an army contractor, situated south of the Fort. His employers soon afterward sold out to the American Fur Company and Beaubien entered the service of that powerful concern as one of its Chicago agents. And when, in turn, the government itself succumbed to the competition of the company for the dwindling Indian trade and sold its factory buildings, Beaubien added the agency house to his growing possessions. In or about 1823 he apparently built a house of his own, a little to the east of these several premises and on the bank of the river, to which he moved his family and where they lived and prospered for the ensuing seventeen years until their sojourn on the Reservation was finally ended by judicial decree.

Beaubien thus held such title as the sellers could convey to a large part of all the land in the tract south of the river and east of State Street, except that which lay within the Fort enclosure itself. He had lived on the land continuously since 1817. He had established a comfortable home; had set up a school in his house, conducted for a time by his second son, had arranged for the services of a priest, and had organized a debating society at the Fort, which was garrisoned again from 1816 to 1823, and 1828 to 1831. The tract had not been surveyed until 1821 and only in 1824 had it been set apart by proclamation of the Secretary of War as a military reservation and withdrawn from public entry. Beaubien had also, according to John Wentworth, gone to the length of subdividing the land and had "sold, or given away . . . a great many lots."⁷ In this manner he was building up an active group of backers against the day, then not very far off, when Congress would finally enact a general pre-emption law under which settlers on the public lands could convert their precarious tenures into legal possession.

Meanwhile Beaubien himself apparently was counted as a legally qualified citizen of the adjacent town of Chicago,

⁷ Wentworth, *Early Chicago*, 40.

although his residence was well beyond its eastern limits. In 1825 he was a justice of the peace and appears on the taxpayers' list with an assessed valuation of \$1,000. He was a voter in the first election for governor and congressman in which the town participated, ran unsuccessfully for town trustee in 1833, and had been elected colonel of a state militia regiment at a hilarious gathering of more or less willing recruits at the Punch Bowl far out on Archer Avenue, near Laughton's Ford, where it was said, the vote for him was unanimous because his jovial disposition and good fellowship promised ample relaxation from the rigors of military discipline. But when duty called, as in the Indian scares preceding the Black Hawk War, he proved himself a good soldier and competent commander who well merited the rank of brigadier general afterward conferred upon him.

The rights and wrongs of the pioneers, who were pushing westward to settle on the public lands, agitated the federal government almost continuously from the first session of Congress to the close of the 1830's. The doctrine that a short period of occupancy could vest the settler with the right of permanent possession soon made its appearance, and as early as 1791 resolutions seeking to confirm such rights in separate localities were being introduced and forced through Congress. But the adoption of a fixed policy made its way very slowly and against much opposition from the government, burdened by the young nation's great need of revenue which, it was hoped, could be raised by the sale of large tracts of the western domain to organized groups and land companies able to make such purchases for cash or upon well established credit. Dealing with individuals and enabling them to acquire their tenements by private sale without competition and on long and precarious terms was opposed both by the hard-pressed officials and, for a time, by Congress itself, and it was not until 1830 that a general pre-emption law was adopted to appease the rising clamor from beyond the Alleghenies, granting pre-emption rights to

"every settler or occupant of the public lands prior to the passage of this act." The act of 1830 was definitely limited to one year, and was bitterly fought by Henry Clay, among others, who called the settlers "a lawless horde," and who, in general, represented the southern viewpoint which saw in pre-emption a danger to the development of large plantations. The act was renewed for another year in 1832 and again in 1834, but it was not until 1841 that the passage of Thomas H. Benton's permanent pre-emption law established the doctrine in the national jurisprudence.⁸

In 1831 Robert A. Kinzie, son of the pioneer Kinzie, obtained possession by pre-emption of the northern portion of Fractional Section Ten, extending from the river to Chicago Avenue and comprising 102 acres. In the same year Jean Baptiste Beaubien, perhaps stirred to action by Kinzie's success, filed his first application at the nearest land office, then at Palestine, Crawford County, Illinois, for a patent to the Southwest Quarter, being all the land in Fractional Section Ten lying south of the river to Madison Street, and accompanied his application by the tender of the sum of \$94.61 as payment in full for the 75.69 acres included in the tract, at \$1.25 per acre. His application was rejected, on the ground that the tract was a military reservation, as indeed it was, though only since 1824—seven years after Beaubien had begun his residence thereon. His second application, filed at Danville, Illinois, was similarly rejected, on the same grounds. Meanwhile, in 1835, a new land office had been opened in Chicago. It was soon to become a busy spot in the canal lot sales of 1836, and there Beaubien filed his third application on May 28, 1835, which this time was accepted and forwarded to Washington with the receiver's certification that the applicant was eligible for a patent.

In Washington the application met with the customary procrastinations of government routine, and, when more than a year had elapsed without results, Beaubien and his backers

⁸ Benjamin H. Hibbard, *History of the Public Land Policies* (New York, 1939), chap. IX.

committed a fateful error and began legal proceedings in the form of a suit for ejectment against Major De Lafayette Wilcox, commandant at the Fort, and the nearest visible representative of the government. When the news of this action reached Washington, the General Land Office was moved to take notice, with the result that the U. S. District Attorney at Chicago was instructed to enter an appearance in the suit. Thus the issue was joined and the battle commenced, to be ended only when, three years later, the U. S. Supreme Court conclusively disposed of Beaubien and his aspirations. The district attorney was D. J. Baker, the same who had advised the Chicago Land Office that Beaubien was legally entitled to a patent. It was also related, though more as fable than fact, that President Jackson had Beaubien's patent before him, all ready for his signature, when he heard the news from Chicago and tore up the document with a volley of characteristically explosive comment.

The legal proceedings were filed in the Illinois Circuit Court in Chicago at the October term, 1836, the presiding judge being the able and upright Thomas Ford, later governor of Illinois. In form it was an agreed case and was entitled John Jackson *ex dem.* Murray McConnell *vs.* De Lafayette Wilcox. McConnell was a downstate lawyer to whom Beaubien, perhaps for the purposes of the litigation, had leased or granted possession of a large portion of the tract in question. John Jackson was a sub-grantee of McConnell. McConnell himself appeared as one of the attorneys for the plaintiff, and it is said that the eminent Sidney Breese was also among counsel for the Beaubien group.

John Wentworth, able and tireless chronicler of Chicago's early history, of much of which he was a part, describes Judge Ford's decision as "just as favorable to the plaintiff as it could possibly be whilst deciding against him," declaring in substance that, while Beaubien's claim was *prima facie* valid, his title was incomplete without the government patent, the issue

of which the court had not the power to decree. The plaintiffs thereupon appealed to the Illinois Supreme Court which reversed Judge Ford's benevolent but inconclusive decision and leaned even farther in Beaubien's direction by ruling that he did in fact hold a valid title, as all land within the state was subject to the laws of the state and that he had complied with such laws. The court also held that the so-called Fort Dearborn Reservation had never been a legal reservation since this could be accomplished only through express legislation which had never been obtained; that the assent of the state legislature was necessary to establish military reservations and maintain garrisons within state boundaries, and sundry further judicial syllogisms of a like tenuous nature.⁹ The Court's opinion was written by Justice Theophilus W. Smith of whom Wentworth sententiously observes, "he was a warm personal friend of General Beaubien, and his learned opinion was the work of both heart and head."¹⁰

But the U. S. Supreme Court, to which the suit was transferred on writ of error, summarily rejected the Illinois court's line of states' rights arguments and affirmed the government's contention that the land under and around Fort Dearborn was a military reservation, having been duly proclaimed as such and withdrawn from entry in 1824; that Beaubien's several applications for a patent had been properly refused, and that his occupancy—which dated back at least seven years before 1824—conferred no rights upon him in the eyes of the law.¹¹ As evidence of the importance that the controversy had assumed, it is of interest to note that the United States was represented in the Supreme Court hearing by Felix Grundy, U. S. Attorney General, and by his immediate predecessor, Benjamin F. Butler, whose brother, Charles Butler, was then in Chicago engaged in extensive real-estate operations, both for himself and as representative of several eastern investors bent

⁹ *McConnell v. Wilcox*, 2 Ill. 344.

¹⁰ Wentworth, *Early Chicago*, 39.

¹¹ *Wilcox v. Jackson*, 13 Peters (U. S.) 498.

upon making fortunes—as Butler himself did—in the booming land market.¹² Of counsel for the Beaubien group was Daniel Webster (whose son, Fletcher, practiced law in Chicago for a few months in 1836), and “Mr. Key”¹³ who in all probability was none other than Francis Scott Key, author of “The Star Spangled Banner,” and at that time a prominent Washington attorney with a large federal practice.

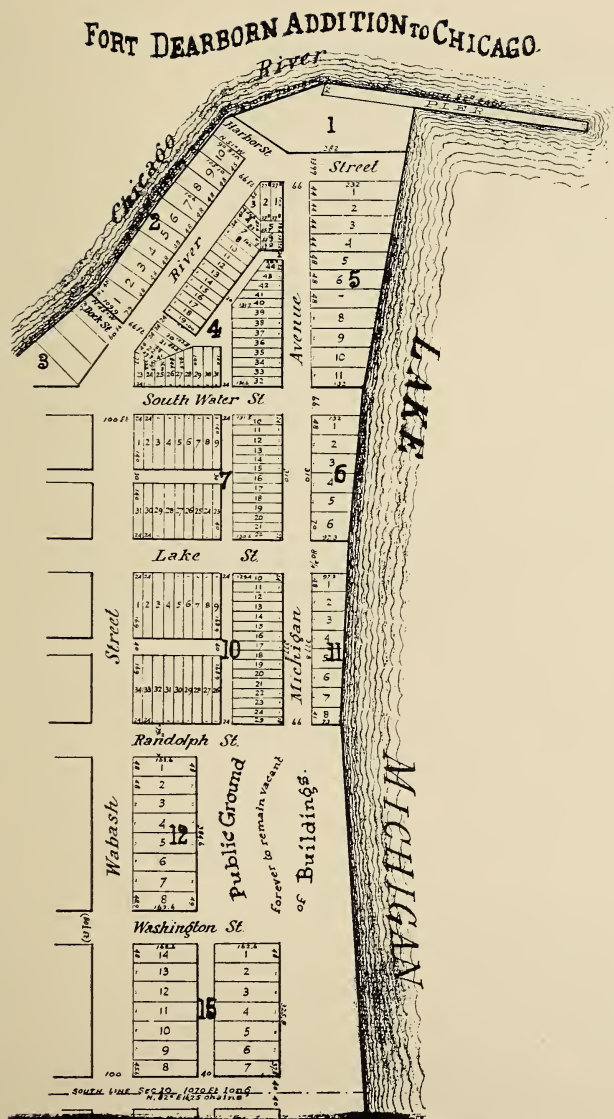
The final act in the litigation was the decree of the U. S. District Court at Chicago directing the return to Beaubien of the \$94.61 he had deposited with his application, and the surrender by him of the certificate issued by the Chicago Land Office. This was done on December 18, 1840. And so, at long last, Miss Martineau’s poor Frenchman failed to gain his suit.

The progress of the case was followed in Chicago with eager interest and the Supreme Court decision was received with a mixture of gloom and indignation which boiled over into public protests and indignation meetings when the government with great promptness—characterized by some as indecent haste¹⁴—proceeded to force the matter to a conclusion by dispatching the Solicitor of the General Land Office, Matthew Birchard, to Chicago with instructions to survey the land and offer it for sale at public auction as the Fort Dearborn Addition to Chicago. Beaubien’s friends and the claimants under his grants, supported by a considerable body of public sentiment, launched a campaign to prevail upon prospective purchasers to refrain from bidding against the holders of such grants, and, in particular, to suffer the Colonel himself to keep the modest tract on which he had for these many years made his home, and for which he was prepared to pay only a modest price. That these efforts to discourage bidders did not succeed is shown by the fact that the sale proceeded as advertised, although the land office found it expedient to withdraw its

¹² *Dictionary of American Biography*, Vol. III, page 359, article on “Charles Butler.”

¹³ *Wilcox v. Jackson*, 13 Peters (U. S.) 498.

¹⁴ See editorials and news comments in the *Chicago Democrat* and the *Chicago American*, June, 1839.



—Courtesy Chicago Public Library

THE BEAUBIEN CLAIM AS LAID OUT IN CITY LOTS
From the abstract of title compiled by Handy, Simmons & Co., 1874

notice of a public sale and to substitute therefor an invitation to submit sealed bids.

The sale occupied two weeks, from June 10 to 24, 1839, and within that period all of the Fort Dearborn Addition, a total of 253 lots on what is now Wabash and Michigan avenues from the river to Madison Street, was sold for an aggregate of \$106,042.16. The purchasers were mostly Chicagoans, with a few exceptions—notably Arthur Bronson, a New York capitalist, who picked up a baker's dozen of choice lots in Block A facing the river on the present Wacker Drive north of South Water Street, for prices from \$233 to \$583 per lot of twenty-four feet. As a whole, prices ran all the way from \$2,657 for a seventy-nine foot corner in Block 2, to \$200 and less for the narrower frontage farther south, the river lots being at the top of the scale.¹⁵ A small section on Michigan Avenue at the river was retained by the government for a light-house and harbor master's quarters. Likewise reserved was the block on Michigan Avenue from Randolph to Washington Street, which, as a gesture of popular appeasement, was dedicated as a public park, called Dearborn Park, with the legend inscribed on the original plat: "Public ground, forever to remain vacant of buildings." This dedication was vacated in 1890 with the consent of the abutting property owners for the benefit of the Chicago Public Library which now occupies the site. But the land east of Dearborn Park is still protected by the same dedication, to which Chicago is indebted for the splendid parkway that constitutes one of the chief glories of Michigan Avenue.¹⁶

The "indecent haste" with which the Fort Dearborn Addition was opened for sale not only displeased the populace but had the further and more serious effect of dumping several

¹⁵ For a schedule of the lots with names of purchasers and prices paid, see *Fergus' Directory of the City of Chicago, 1839*. (Reprinted, 1876, in *Fergus' Historical Series*, pt. 2, pages 47-49.)

¹⁶ These pioneer real-estate transactions, including the essential facts of the Beaubien Claim, are embodied in the title records of all property in that valuable section of downtown Chicago and are well known to many lawyers and realty dealers.

hundred parcels of land on an already weakened market, just beginning to recover from the Panic of 1837, and never again to reach the peak of 1836. The total proceeds that the sale brought were disappointingly low—not much more than a tenth of the figure that might have been realized in the boom days when, according to Miss Martineau, her poor Frenchman was counting on gaining a million dollars from his investment in “some land by the lake”—and might well have come close to that round sum.¹⁷ But the Colonel himself and his friends were even more violently displeased when they learned that the very corner of earth upon which he had built his home was about to be sold to a Chicago lawyer, James H. Collins by name, who had pointedly made a bid high enough to ensure its acceptance. Collins was a man of prominence and ability. He had been one of the government attorneys in the Beaubien case, and was no doubt wholly convinced of the invalidity of the Beaubien Claim.

The popular movement to enable the claimants to bid in their holdings without competition met with his stern and righteous disapproval, and, with characteristic belligerency and a well-known propensity for taking the unpopular side, Collins proceeded, in defiance of public clamor and threats of personal violence, to become the first legal owner of five of the six lots that comprised the Beaubien homesite, leaving the Colonel with only a single lot which he bought for \$225 and soon sold again. These lots comprised the major portion of Block 5, beginning with Lot 11 at what is now the northeast corner of Michigan Avenue and South Water Street, which Beaubien was allowed to keep, and continuing north to and including Lot 6. This, therefore, seems to have been the true location of the last and most substantial of the Beaubien homes, and not, as is often stated, the “foot of Randolph Street,” which was the site of the Dean house used as a dwelling up to 1823 and thereafter as a school, store, and warehouse until it was washed away by the waves.

¹⁷ Homer Hoyt, *One Hundred Years of Land Values in Chicago* (Chicago, 1933), 39.

The lots had a uniform frontage of 48 feet but varied in depth from 132 to 232 feet, their eastern boundary being determined by the shore of the lake upon which they verged. The latter fact provided their new owner, the embattled Lawyer Collins, with a fresh cause for conflict some years later, when he sued for an injunction against the Illinois Central Railroad then building northward on trestles over the water, on the ground that this construction trespassed upon his riparian rights. While defeated in his suit, Collins thus became the first of many Chicagoans to engage in legal contests with that enterprising railroad.¹⁸

The time had now come for Beaubien to bow to the decrees of law and circumstance and, early in 1840, he removed his household to his farm on the Des Plaines River, not far from the two-section reserve granted to his friend, the Potawatomi Chief Alexander Robinson, whose family graveyard still remains at the Lawrence Avenue crossing of the river. Beaubien was then fifty-three years old. His family consisted of the two sons of his first wife, long dead, and of Josette's eleven children, all born on the Reservation. His affairs were in prosperous condition, for besides the claim he had left behind him, he was the owner of various pieces of real estate in and about Chicago. As early as 1834, he had donated two lots in Section 15, at the southwest corner of Wabash Avenue and Madison Street to St. Mary's Catholic Church. This valuable corner is, incidentally, still the property of the Archdiocese. On the other hand, he had met with at least one serious loss, resulting from a promissory note he had rashly given to one of his attorneys in the claim litigation as a contingent fee which the latter had promptly discounted and released for collection. This caused the Colonel considerable hardship, from which he never fully recovered.¹⁹

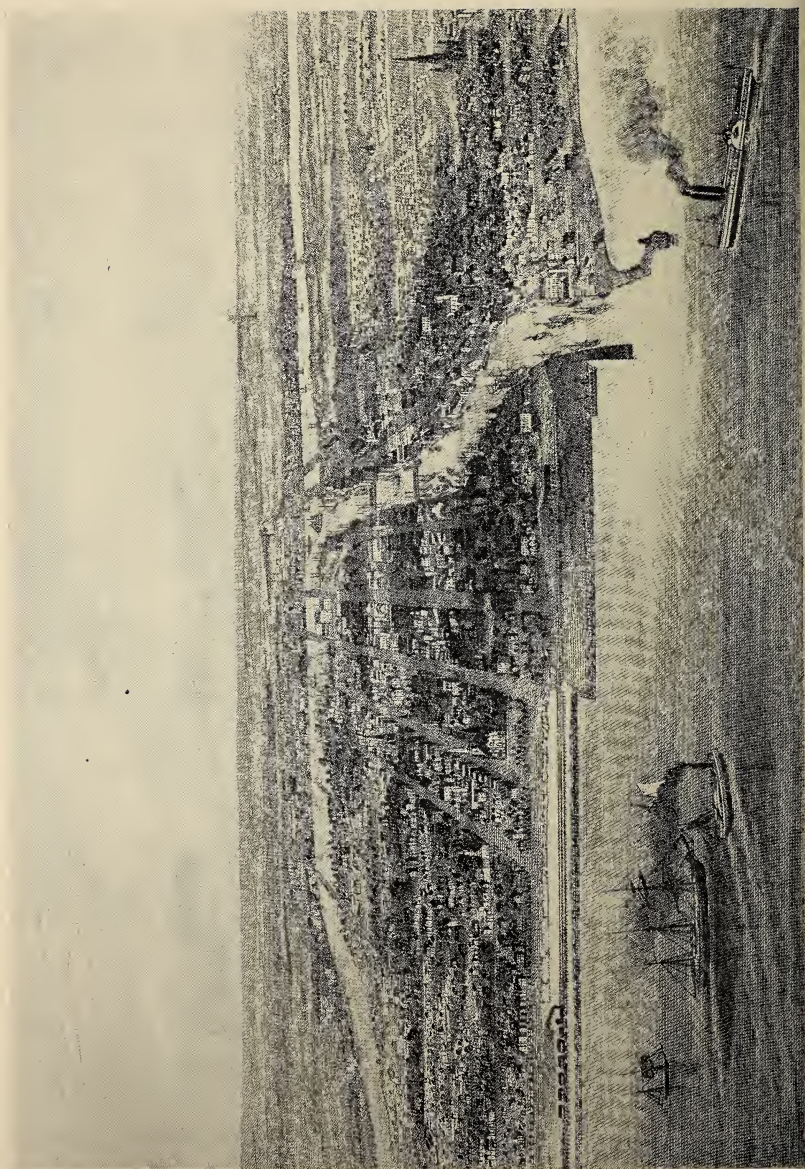
Meanwhile the Beaubien Claim was still a live issue

¹⁸ Andreas, *History of Chicago*, I: 451.

¹⁹ Edwin O. Gale, *Reminiscences of Early Chicago* (Chicago, 1902), 130.

the courts of public opinion and particularly in the hearts and minds of the claimant's grantees, not one of whom had succeeded in retaining his holdings in recent lot sales. Efforts were made from time to time to reinstate the claim through special legislation and the Colonel himself was occasionally encountered in Washington on lobbying errands. In 1854 this group and the town as a whole received a thrill when it was announced that John Wentworth, then in Congress and always a Beaubien partisan, had secured the passage of a bill granting to the latter a patent for the area at the foot of Michigan Avenue hitherto reserved and occupied by the lighthouse, federal harbor works, and what was left of the Fort, and now about to be cleared and released. This area was (and still is) one of the choicest and most valuable locations in the subdivision, comprising Lots 1 to 6 in Block 4, the present site of the London Guaranty Building, all but the south ten feet of Lot 1 in Block 5, across Michigan Avenue to the east, and Lots 8 and 9 in Block 2 on Wacker Drive less a portion excavated for the widening of the river and the construction of the first Rush Street Bridge. The act of Congress was generally accepted as an act of grace inspired by a guilty conscience. It was even hoped that further manifestations of official contrition, to like effect, might follow, but such hopes proved vain. The Colonel remained its sole beneficiary, and Wentworth, in his account of the episode adds, "there was not a citizen of Chicago who knew him who ever questioned its propriety, to my knowledge."

The most ambitious, and the final attempt to revise the claim was undertaken by a Chicago lawyer, William H. Standish, in 1878. Standish presented a voluminous argument based on a bill in the 45th Congress (Senate Bill 773) granting preemption to the Beaubien heirs of the whole tract covered by the Fort Dearborn Addition, and at the same time proposing to vest title in the city of Chicago to all remaining public lands in Fractional Sections 10 and 15 (which lay south of Madison



Street). These lands comprised the area east of Michigan Avenue which had been dedicated for park purposes, and the title to which was assumed to be still in the United States. This project was one of the early phases of the famous and protracted Lake Front Case, into which we do not propose to enter except to refer to the celebrated decision of Justices Harlan and Blodgett in the U. S. Circuit Court in 1888 which ended the Lake Front litigation forever by declaring that title to all open ground dedicated to public use, even including the streets, in the section, was not in the United States but in the city of Chicago as a public agency for the state of Illinois. Senate Bill 773, meanwhile, had been referred to the Senate Committee on Private Land Claims of the 45th Congress, which, after reviewing the whole story once again, reported adversely on the bill and recommended that it be indefinitely postponed. The Beaubien Claim was, therefore, on all counts and from all angles, a closed issue.

What Beaubien did with his Congressional windfall is not known, though the record could probably be found. Presumably he sold his nine lots, which by 1854 had acquired a respectable market value, and thus eased his financial situation, grown none too bright with the passing years. At any rate, he did not move back to the Reservation but continued to live on his Des Plaines River farm, where Josette had died in 1845. In 1855 he returned to Chicago and lived on the West Side with his third wife, Catherine Louise Pinney, whose four children increased his flock to seventeen. In 1861 he moved again, to Naperville, where he died on January 26, 1863, well over seventy-five years of age.

The Beaubien family has left few palpable traces of its progress through the succeeding generations. In visible vestiges the name survives only on a bronze tablet marking (incorrectly) the site of his homestead, and in Beaubien Court, a short and narrow thoroughfare east of Michigan Avenue from South Water Street to Randolph Street, giving access to

the Illinois Central freight houses. In Jean Baptiste's own day his younger brother, Mark, achieved resounding fame and popularity as the jovial host of the Sauganash Tavern and performer on the fiddle always available for festive occasions.

Of the Colonel's numerous progeny there is record only of one of his two half-breed sons, Madore, who after a business career in Chicago, chose to revert to his tribal status because, as he told John Wentworth, he would "rather be a big Indian than a little white man." When our industrious annalist, Henry H. Hurlbut, published his *Chicago Antiquities* in 1881, there were still a number of Beaubiens in Chicago. "Various members of the family," says the discursive Hurlbut, "accept the dignity conferred by industrial occupation. Within the decade past, some of the sons, and perhaps grandsons, have worn a glittering star upon their breasts; not the mere gilded or diamond bauble of some meaningless order . . . but the bright symbol of useful and honorable employment."²⁰ Today there are six Beaubiens in the male line listed in the Chicago telephone directory, all of whom, no doubt, can trace their descent from the two brothers who first brought the name to Chicago—through Jean Baptiste's seventeen children and Mark's twenty-three.



²⁰ Henry H. Hurlbut, *Chicago Antiquities* (Chicago, 1881), 329.

THE IMPORTANCE OF BOOKS

BY PEARL S. BUCK

WE know that, taken by and large among literate peoples, Americans are not great readers. A writer knows that if half a million of his books are read here in the United States he has achieved more than a seven-days' wonder. Most books sell under five thousand copies. All books sell under twenty thousand copies except the few best sellers. Only the biggest best sellers, usually historical romances, sell a hundred thousand copies. Multiplying all these figures by five or even by ten, to allow for libraries and lending among friends, we still have only a small fraction, indeed, of the one hundred and thirty millions of our people. We are constrained then to see that our people are for the most part nonreaders. They get their reading, if any, from the comics, from newspaper headlines, and popular magazines. Beyond that they listen to the radio and go to the movies.

The plain fact is that, except for a small percentage of our people, books are not necessities. They are luxuries and able decorations. Publishers know this well, and have to reckon on it. In times of high prices books and diamonds show the first falling off.

Pearl S. Buck, well-known author and president of the East and West Association, hardly needs an introduction to our readers. This paper was presented before the Atlantic City Conference of the American Library Association on June 14, 1948. It was published in the September 1, 1948 A. L. A. Bulletin of the American Library Association from which permission to reprint here has been obtained.

It may be said to comfort ourselves that the most intelligent among our people, the leaders, are readers of books. Unfortunately this, too, is not true. Some leaders do read, if they have been taught to read sufficiently well so that reading is no effort and they can pass easily from the world of sound into the world of silent perception. But . . . more often than not the local leaders are not readers. They are usually what are called men of action. How often even our schools are controlled by local boards composed of men who seldom take up a book and who do not see the need of more and better books!

I doubt whether our congressmen are readers of books—many of them. Perhaps even our cabinet members and even our President are not and have not been readers of books. It is terrifying to think that the policies of our country, in these dangerous and unstable times, are being made by men who have not perhaps ever read, say, a history of Russia or of China, and have no conception of England's history of empire, except as subordinates brief them before conferences. Yet in a literate democracy, where reading is required of every normal-minded citizen, books ought to be as necessary as bread. We cannot understand the present or approach the future with any sort of common sense unless we have that material in our minds which can only be got from books. Locked away in books are not only all the facts which the human mind has yet brought together and comprehended, but in books alone are to be found the creative thinking of the finest human minds. I use the word *locked* with meaning, for reading is the key. . . .

In our strange times, when militarists and political aspirants and greedy men are struggling to divide our world into many parts, the world remains one. More and more is this evident. The chief reason why the plots and plans of dictators succeed is because the people remain ignorant and the reason people are ignorant is because they do not read books. . . .

You may ask, what sort of books? I submit that . . . no man or woman should be the judge of books for people as a whole

... No one should say this book is good and that one is bad for all. It is dangerous in a democracy for any group to set itself to tell people what they should read. Churches should not do it and government should not do it. Such censorship is the first step toward book-burning and book-burning throughout history has been the sign of the dictator.

Centuries ago, China's greatest dictator, Chin Shih Huang, determined to burn all books in order to stifle people's minds so that he could better control the nation. Books, he declared, taught people to think dangerous thoughts and then to rebel against authority. So they do, and that is the glory of books. Hitler in Germany announced his dictatorship by banning books and then by burning them. The banning of books always comes first. There are steps to this process of banning. The first step is to make out a list of books which organizations or governments recommend, not for authenticity or amusement or any of the proper uses of books. No, they recommend books because these books express the rules of the organization—*members should read them.*

Next comes the suppression of certain books. Then comes the actual destruction of books, and tyranny is in the seat of power. Censorship of books means censorship of the mind, and censorship of the mind is what every tyrant wants, wherever he is to be found, and he can be found in any country. Sometimes he wears the robe of a minister of religion, sometimes he wears a business suit, or a soldier's uniform, sometimes he is a government bureaucrat or high official. . . . [We] must watch for him wherever he is, and the censorship of books is the sign of his presence. The freedom of people everywhere in the world is closely linked with freedom from censorship of books. . . .

What are good books? For me they are the books I enjoy, and so are they for you the books you enjoy. I believe that there should be all kinds of books and there should be no censorship of books at all. The people themselves should choose the books

they enjoy. I believe that every sort of book should be allowed and the education of choice should begin early through the development of character so that people themselves will make the choice of what are good books. It is too late when people begin to come and get books for themselves. Their ways are set. If they are dirty-minded they will want dirty books, and someone telling them that the dirty book is banned does no good. They will go and be dirty in other ways. People who love violence and murder cannot be checked by refusing to allow them to have books about violence and murder. They will get their satisfaction in some other place.

Not through books must the controls come upon the individual. I *must* emphasize the dangers of allowing books to be used as the tools of discipline for any reason whatsoever. To allow this means that the next step will be pressure put upon writers not to write, that dangerous pressure which today is stifling literature and music and art in Soviet Russia, and which, whenever it has occurred in history, has meant the beginning of a dark age not only for the arts, but for the people. For the arts, and chief among them literature, are the fields of freedom not only for those who create, but for those who participate in creation by receiving and enjoying—or rejecting—what is created.

Books then should be freely published and freely read. I stress this point because we do have certain incipient censorships in this country. They have not proceeded far, but there are signs that some groups are urging their further development. The churches exercise a certain sort of censorship. One local city has a morality board and other cities think they should have them. Women's groups, notoriously conservative as nearly all of them are, are looking toward more rather than less censorship. Certain industries, both capital and labor, have censorships of their own. . . . The trend in our country is not toward more freedom for the people but less, and freedom for books is the essence of freedom for the people.

But censorship is still not powerful in our country. Our people do not read, not because they are forbidden to read, most of them, but because they do not want to read. . . .

Too many of our people don't know how to read. They can read something they must read, but they don't know how to read well enough for pleasure. Every teacher will tell you that teaching children to read is the basic difficulty in education. Many a pupil with a good enough mind fails because literally he doesn't read well enough to get his mind educated. He cannot understand processes because he cannot read them with ease. You would be surprised at the number of people who turn away from a book which they would enjoy because it looks hard to read. I am not speaking of technical books alone—I am speaking of books of thought and fancy. Yet reading is basic to democracy. You can't have a true and working democracy unless people keep themselves informed, and the only way to be informed is to read. When the majority of people cannot read well enough to keep themselves informed, then the democracy is in danger.

And if people don't read, if they consider themselves too busy to read, it means that they can't read easily enough to enjoy reading.

How dangerously this inability to read is linked up with censorship! For a nonreading people will be careless about book bans and book control, when they do not consider books essential to them. A nonreading public is the very material for book censorship. Only the leaders of thought, only the real readers, and the writers, will be affected by censorship, but this means stifling at the source. If people *valued* books, it would be impossible to maintain censorships. No one, no government, can control an informed people. But when people are too ignorant to know what is happening to them, then it is easy to put out the lamps one by one. The people will not perceive the increasing darkness. . . .

Our whole system of teaching people how to read needs

new study and revision. We are graduating far too many children from the grades who cannot read, and if people do not learn to read in the grades they will never learn. They will go through life book blind. And because they are book blind they will never understand what is going on around them in the world and why it is going on and what may be expected as a result of what is going on. They will be forever at the mercy of demagogues and politicians of all sorts. They will be at the mercy of "They say" and "I heard." They will never *know for themselves*. The chief reason for the enormous popularity of forums and programs and lectures in this country is because our people don't read and so they go anywhere they can to hear. If our democracy is ever wrecked it will be because our people never really learned to read and find out things for themselves. Somewhere as children they were blocked by the difficulty of the printed word.

After watching a good many children struggle with school, I have come to the conclusion that one reason for this seeming difficulty in reading is that the school presents too early far too many subjects. I should like to see the first years of school devoted, other than physical activity, only to reading books. I should like to see complete mastery of reading, so that the child reads as easily and instinctively as he breathes, before any other requirement is put upon him. I should like him to feel that reading is the door to all sorts of interesting knowledge and enjoyment, that in reading books he can find endless pleasure, that books are printed by the million on every subject and that all he has to do is to pick up a book to find out what he wants.

Then and only then, when reading has become an instinctive function, would I give him arithmetic and geography and history as subjects in themselves. What the child has to confront today is all these subjects, each one a mountain, and he has to start climbing them while reading itself is still a subject and not an instinct. Consequently he associates the act of read-

ing with all these other difficulties and he lumps them together as trials and without joy. By the time he finishes school he never wants to look at a book again and nine times out of ten he doesn't. . . .

We are living in a dangerous era. We are not at all sure of maintaining even our own democracy, not to mention the possibility of democracy on a world-wide scale. Most countries in the world are not democracies. Most people are not free. I repeat: the trend is not at all toward more freedom—it is toward less freedom for the common folk. I warn you of this.

Meanwhile—there has always to be a meanwhile, since systems cannot change over night—I should like to see reading classes in all libraries. . . . I think the teaching of reading ought to be a part of every library's responsibility. I should like to see reading teachers, people who do nothing but teach reading to children and to adults, hold hours—not classes, for class has become a hateful word to our school-hating people. Hours, let us call them! Adults need help in reading, too. Many of them read painfully, word by word, each word a thing to be said separately in the mind. But reading, as anyone knows who has made reading an instinct, is not done word by word. It is not done even line by line or paragraph by paragraph or page by page—it is done idea by idea.

When we listen to someone talk we don't separate each word from the other—we hear by meanings, we leap from idea to idea. So it should be with the printed word as with the heard word. Adults can be given help to accomplish this, and the very thought that they are learning how to read over again more quickly and thoroughly at the same time—for slow readers lose the idea in word-to-word effort—will inspire them to become readers of books. For then they will enjoy books.

Sound education is always the result of enjoyment. We don't begin to be educated or to educate ourselves, until we begin to enjoy the process and the result.

I have tried to make clear . . . the relation between reading

and books and between books and democracy. I should like to proceed to the place of books in our world. . . . We are now beginning . . . a new era. Those of you who are readers of history and who are aware of our times know this already. All human history is divided into eras. Looking back through the centuries, one can see, through books, that human life has proceeded in great waves, washing back sometimes but even then seeming to gather energy for the next great push onward. We are just now in such a wash-back. Since the end of the last war there seems to be retrogression everywhere. None of the great dreams have come true. In every country the people are less well off than they were before. Here in the United States while we are not worse off materially, yet all honest men and women must be, I think, uneasily conscious that spiritually we are at a very low ebb indeed. No great voices speak. Government is weak and often unwise, and from the churches and great organizations of the people nothing comes.

In every other country that I know anything about the people are certainly as low. And yet, if you have your ear sharp to hear, you may perceive that in the very restlessness and discontent of the people there is hope. People everywhere feel the necessity for something better in life than we have now. None is secure. Especially our own people, rich in the midst of many poor, are not secure.

But I should be unwise if I let the impression be left that all our people wish for the same world. Uneasiness is dividing our people in two ways. Some are looking toward a world community in which mutual benefit will make mutual security, a really democratic world. Others, and among these are many young men, are intoxicated with the thought of power. The influences of fascism have been deeper than many of us realize, especially upon the ignorant and the inhumane. Many young people are inhumane until they learn through experience what it is to suffer. War was therefore the worst possible thing that could have befallen such persons. They have become what is

called "trigger-happy." Today the knowledge that a man can be powerful without being strong or wise or courageous is a frightful truth. Anybody with a better weapon than the next man can be powerful.

Today, more than ever before in human history, all people are in danger from these individuals who are trigger-happy. They swagger about in every country. When I was writing my book about how fascism rose in Germany, I asked my friend Erna von Pustau, who was working with me, what seemed to her the most dangerous aspect of American life. She thought for a long time and then she said, "I remember that a diary was found on the person of a dead German soldier, and in this diary he told of the hope of having the atomic bomb, and he said, 'Yet I wonder whether, with this terrible bomb in my hand, can I drop it. Will not my hand shake? Shall I have the heart to drop the bomb?' But," she continued, "when the young American who dropped the bomb on Hiroshima was asked how he felt, he answered, 'I didn't feel anything. I was just doing a job.' A job which killed a hundred thousand innocent people—yes, innocent, for they had been completely misled."

It is this "I didn't feel anything" which terrifies me, too. For this "I don't feel anything" means an ignorant mind and an uneducated heart, and such minds and hearts are just the stuff for tyrants to use. We must not think of modern tyranny in the old terms of kings. Tyranny can be capital, or labor, or church, or government, or the combinations which took place in Germany—anything that takes away freedom for people. As Justice William Douglas says, freedom for people is that which gives a man complete freedom to go into any theater and see any show and take part in it, but which does not give him the freedom to call out the word, "fire."

Those who are wiser and who understand the world as a community must be on guard against the power-lovers. Yet the first essential to making this world community a reality is the heart which can feel community with other human beings and

the mind which wills to learn about them. World understanding—I fear to speak the words! We use up words so easily. We talk about something so much that the very name is exhausted before we have grasped the substance or achieved the reality. Democracy is such a word—we have talked it to death without finding out all it means. In some parts of the world today, where our American armies control the people, the very word “democracy” has become a curse and a cause of hatred. We have killed the word for the people there before they ever knew what it meant. So it is to some extent even in our country. We are tired of the sound of the word.

Thus I am afraid of the words, “world understanding.” I treasure them so much, they are so important. What we need above all else, we Americans, is world understanding. But now, alas, we are beginning to *talk* about world understanding. Forums are being built and programs are being planned on it, and in the coming season after the summer, I fear that many of you will see in your towns and cities meetings on world understanding which have nothing at all to do with world understanding and which will accomplish none of it. I beg you . . . to watch for such meetings and programs and by every means you have to make the people in your communities realize that to talk about world understanding does not mean to have world understanding. To have world understanding we must understand with humility the peoples of the earth, what they are and why they are what they are. Organizations are not the way to understand the world. You can understand the world only by first having in yourself the attitude for understanding. This attitude is one of simple humanity. An American is no better and no worse than a citizen of any other land. We are only people. In science we have progressed further than any country except Germany, but in other ways we are backward. In world feeling we are behind the peoples of the East. Our culture is only average. I say these things because only when we are humble enough to see ourselves as one among the

world's peoples and not above them all can we really begin to understand the world. We need to get a perspective on ourselves.

You may ask, is not this feeling of superiority inherent in our people just nationalism, perhaps? No, I think not. It is rather, perhaps, a sign of youth and inexperience. The older peoples of Asia certainly have a sense of world community, of the commonness of life, which we do not. This is, perhaps, because the religions of the East are based on human likeness. The Chinese instinctively says, "All under Heaven are one family." We have never thought of saying such a thing because we do not believe it. Of course we are one world family whether we believe it or not, and we shall never have peace and security upon this small earth until we realize that we must have this family feeling toward all people. We don't have to love everybody with a personal love, because that is impossible, but we have to rise to the place of wanting to see everybody have an equal chance for food and health and education and opportunity, and not feel that we should have special privilege, before we can even begin to have world understanding. We have to educate ourselves somehow in common humanity.

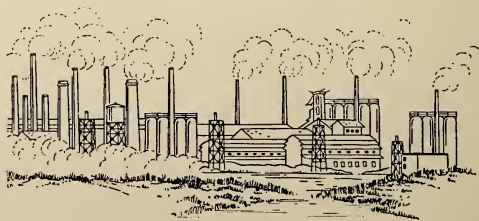
Now, fortunately for us, our people are interested in human things. In spite of some of the trigger-happy among us, most of us enjoy people, and I have discovered in my work through the East and West Association that we are quick to respond to good and interesting human beings. This means that if we can get people to reading books, we can get them to understanding that other peoples are as human as we are and want the same kind of a world. . . .

What sort of books will people need to read? Well, first of all, history. For example, we cannot understand why the Russians are what they are or what they seem to us to be, without knowing Russian history. But this is true of all peoples. We are incomprehensible, too, to other peoples. In fact, I know

that we are considered the most incomprehensible people on earth, after Soviet Russia.

Next, I think we should persuade and cajole people into reading books about other peoples, anything which makes those peoples seem human and real. The sense of common humanity is what we Americans need. We are generous, we give relief easily, but we are not a very humane people, even taking out our trigger-happies. I think that science tends to make people dehumanized and the speed of life tends to dehumanize us, and competition dehumanizes. The very fundamentals of our life, the things which have made us rich and strong and prosperous, also dehumanize us. We have to counterbalance this effect of our general life by special efforts to restore the balance of humanity to our hearts and souls if we are to be able to grasp the reality of world understanding. And, as I said, next to people themselves, books which describe what peoples are, will help us. . . .

The two questions which face us are: How can we teach people to read books? How can we persuade them to read books? For our most precious human treasure, the story of all history and all imagination, lies between the covers of books, and no generation should grow to physical maturity without sharing this treasure.



LINCOLN IN KANSAS

BY CHARLES ARTHUR HAWLEY

ABRAHAM LINCOLN began his campaign for the Presidency in Kansas in December, 1859, a fact which was almost entirely overlooked by his biographers, and of which little has been generally known until recently. The facts of this important trip have been handed down by word of mouth with the exception of a brief mention by Nicolay and Hay in their *Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln*, a few newspaper notices, and the notes made at the time by that indefatigable scholar and newspaperman, Daniel W. Wilder. Wilder, a graduate of Harvard in the class of 1856, came to Kansas the next year as editor of the Elwood (Kansas) *Free Press*. He was one of the founders of the Republican Party in Kansas in 1859 and an ardent supporter of Lincoln, whom he urged to begin his campaign for the Presidency in that troubled territory.

Wilder felt that Lincoln should know the attitude of those west of the Missouri River, and since Kansas was divided in its sympathy for John Brown, who summed up the struggle against slavery in that region, he implored Lincoln to come to see for himself the exact situation. Another reason why Wilder insisted on Lincoln's visiting Kansas late in the fall of 1859 was the fact that the Republicans of the Territory were almost solidly for Seward.

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That Lincoln's biographers neglected to tell of the beginning of his campaign in Kansas is easy to understand. They knew little about it and little about the reasons which prompted Lincoln to make the difficult tour. Kansas, usually thought of as "bleeding" in the cause of "freedom," as a matter of fact, sympathized strongly with slavery in the section Lincoln visited. As Fred W. Brinkerhoff recently pointed out:

An examination of the Kansas newspapers of the time of the tour reveals no mention of the Lincoln visit and speeches with some notable exceptions. These exceptions are the rather full accounts in the Leavenworth and Elwood newspapers, a single belated but valuable paragraph in the *Kansas Chief*, then published at White Cloud, a paragraph in the *Emporia News* and a reprint from a Leavenworth newspaper in a Manhattan publication.¹

The references at the time were due to the enthusiasm of the Harvard-trained New Englander, Daniel Webster Wilder. Atchison, settled largely by Virginia and Tennessee pioneers, was so violently anti-abolitionist that Pardee Butler, who openly declared himself an abolitionist, was tarred and feathered and sent down the Missouri on a shaky raft, supposedly to his death. Notice was served that no "nigger-lover" need show his face in Atchison County. John Brown was declared a traitor, a border ruffian, and several unprintable names. "We'll hang John Brown on a sour apple tree" was the theme song.

When, finally, Lincoln spoke in Atchison on December 2, 1859, the very day that John Brown was executed in Charlestown, Virginia, the master of ceremonies referred to a paper in his hand to remember the speaker's name, and not one of the newspapers then published in Atchison mentioned his coming or going. In the minds of the Atchison people, Lincoln was identified with abolitionism and with John Brown. Kansas missed the greatest opportunity in its history, for Lincoln used substantially the same speech which, in the following Febru-

¹ Fred W. Brinkerhoff, "The Kansas Tour of Lincoln the Candidate," *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XIII, no. 5 (Feb., 1945), 295.

ary, became forever famous as the Cooper Union Speech. If Atchison had not so strongly supported the South, the speech might have been known in history as the Atchison Speech, and all Lincoln's biographers would have devoted part of their research to showing why he began his campaign west of the Missouri River.

Atchison, just across the river from the slave state of Missouri, was a most important river port at that time. Here the boats landed pioneers to be outfitted for the trek across the prairies to Santa Fe, Denver, and the Oregon Trail. At the east end of Atchison Street on the bank of the Missouri River stood the National Hotel, subsidized by the New England Emigrant Aid Company. Everybody knew that Emerson, Whitier, Thoreau, and all the Boston and Concord "radicals" had put money into it. Everyone knew that Emerson had declared John Brown "a pure idealist of artless goodness," and that Gerrit Smith, the New York philanthropist and reformer, had financed him. They were also well aware that Governor Robinson of Kansas had "likened John Brown to Jesus Christ, and said that the blow on the Pottawatomie was a great service to the Free-State cause."² It was a strange combination of circumstances that sent Lincoln to Atchison on the very date John Brown was hanged.

Across the Missouri River the feeling against John Brown was bitter, and abolitionists in Atchison County, Kansas, never tired of telling of the inhuman treatment the Missourians had meted out to the Brown family. In 1854 three of Brown's sons came to Kansas. The following year two more sons arrived in the Territory. All came to fight slavery, and this the Missouri settlers knew right well. In the boat bringing the two sons in 1855 cholera broke out, and little Austin, aged four, son of Jason Brown, died. When the boat stopped for repairs at Waverly, Missouri, the Browns left it to bury the body of the

² William E. Connelley, *A Standard History of Kansas and Kansans* (Chicago, 1918), I: 580.

boy. Before the burial party returned, the boat continued its course to Atchison, leaving the mourners stranded. Nobody in Missouri would supply them with food. On reaching their home in Kansas, the sons wrote the story to their father, adding that Missouri was trying to make Kansas a slave state. John Brown set out for Kansas the same year; on the way he stopped at Waverly, disinterred the body of his grandson and took it to Kansas. Even during this brief stop, his life was threatened.³ All these doings were fresh in the minds of Atchison County people when Lincoln arrived.

Wilder urged Mark W. Delahay, a prominent lawyer living in Leavenworth, whose wife⁴ was distantly related to Lincoln, to join him in the invitation to Lincoln. The invitation was sent during the summer, after Wilder had made a trip to Springfield, Illinois, to talk the matter over with Lincoln. The latter knew that the territory of Kansas would send delegates to the Republican National Convention, and he evidently wished, at least, to make an effort to win them. It is true that Horace Greeley had prepared the way for Lincoln, having endorsed him at the Osawatimie (home of John Brown) Convention⁵ the preceding May 18. Here the Republican Party in Kansas was firmly planted. The Territory election was to be held on December 6, and those who invited Lincoln to Kansas planned to have him in the Territory as near as possible to that date. They trusted him with a great faith, and he had to act with consummate tact, but Lincoln was equal to the occasion.

It is not likely that much publicity was given to Lincoln's visit except that Delahay told the *Leavenworth Times* on November 28, to announce his coming in a day or two. Finally, on December 1, Lincoln reached Elwood. Wilder records the event: "Abram Lincoln arrives in Elwood, and makes a speech that evening. He was met at St. Joseph by M. W. Dela-

³ Connelley, *Kansas and Kansans*, I: 561-62.

⁴ *Transactions of the Kansas State Historical Society, 1901-1902, Vol. VII* (Topeka, 1902), 540; Henry Clay Whitney, *Life on the Circuit with Lincoln* (Caldwell, Idaho, 1940), 333.

⁵ Daniel W. Wilder, *Annals of Kansas* (Topeka, 1875), 201.

hay and D. W. Wilder. His speech was substantially the same he made soon afterwards at the Cooper Institute, New York, and one of the ablest and clearest ever delivered by an American statesman."⁶ Wilder later gave more detail of Lincoln's entrance to Kansas:

Delahay came to Elwood and stayed all night, I suppose. He and I went to St. Joseph the next morning, and way down south to the Hannibal depot (the Hannibal & St. Joe R.R., completed that year) and took Lincoln up town in an omnibus. I took him to a barber shop near the Planters' House and bought for him the New York or Chicago papers at the postoffice news-stand. All sat in the dirt waiting for the ferryboat; to the Great Western hotel, a large frame building. That night he spoke in the dining-room of the hotel; the meeting announced by a man going through the streets pounding a gong. He stayed in Elwood that night, December 1, warm day; December 2, very cold; he went to Troy; spoke in the courthouse; speech replied to by Col. Andrew J. Ege [Agey], a native of Maryland. At Troy he was met by A. D. Richardson, my brother [A. Carter Wilder] and John P. Hatterscheidt. Then to Doniphan, then Atchison. B. F. Stringfellow in the audience. John A. Martin used to say that Stringfellow called it the greatest antislavery speech he ever heard. Jeff. L. Dugger's paper in Leavenworth [the *Register*] was Delahay's organ, and Delahay was the Kansas leader of the movement to secure Lincoln delegates to the Chicago convention of 1860. The speech I return is important. The report must have been chiefly written by Lincoln; his language is used.⁷

These brief sentences are from a letter written by the Hon. D. W. Wilder, April 22, 1902, to George W. Martin, then Secretary of the Kansas State Historical Society. They can now be supplemented by information passed on by the pioneers who heard Lincoln. Lincoln and his escorts crossed the Missouri on the ferry connecting St. Joseph and Elwood. The latter town at that time promised to be the leading Midwest city. It had the best hotel in Kansas, the Great Western, with seventy-five rooms. When the party reached the Great Western, Lincoln was consulted about a speech that night. He readily agreed and seemed surprised that no speech had been scheduled. A crier was accordingly secured who went through the streets ringing

⁶ Wilder, *Annals of Kansas*, 231.

⁷ *Trans. Kan. State Hist. Soc.*, 1901-1902, p. 536-37n.

a bell and shouting, "Abe Lincoln of Illinois will speak at 8 o'clock in the dining room at the Great Western Hotel. Everybody invited."⁸ All students of Lincoln must forever remain thankful to Daniel W. Wilder, editor of the *Elwood Free Press*, for his résumé of Lincoln's first speech in Kansas. That résumé in his *Free Press*, dated December 3, 1859, is as follows:

Hon. Abraham Lincoln arrived in Elwood Thursday, December 1. Although fatigued with the journey, and somewhat "under the weather," he kindly consented to make a short speech here. A large number of our citizens assembled at the Great Western hotel to hear him.

Mr. Lincoln was received with great enthusiasm. He stated the reasons why he was unable to make a speech this evening. He could only say a few words to us who had come out to meet him the first time he had placed his foot upon the soil of Kansas. Mr. Lincoln said that it was possible that we had local questions in regard to railroads, land grants and internal improvements which were matters of deeper interest to us than the questions arising out of national politics, but of these local interests he knew nothing and should say nothing. We had, however, just adopted a state constitution, and it was probable that, under that constitution, we should soon cease our territorial existence, and come forward to take our place in the brotherhood of states, and act our part as a member of the confederation.

Kansas would be free, but the same questions we had here in regard to freedom or slavery would arise in regard to other territories, and we should have to take our part in deciding them. People often ask, "Why make such a fuss about a few niggers?" I answer the question by asking What will you do to dispose of this question? The slaves constitute one seventh of our entire population. Wherever there is an element of this magnitude in a government it will be talked about. The general feeling in regard to slavery has changed entirely since the early days of the republic. You may examine the debates under the confederation in the convention that framed the constitution and in the first session of Congress and you will not find a single man saying that slavery is a good thing. They all believed it was an evil. They made the Northwest Territory, the only territory then belonging to the government, forever free. They prohibited the African slave trade. Having thus prevented its extension and cut off the supply, the fathers of the republic believed slavery must soon disappear.

There are only three clauses in the constitution which refer to slavery, and in neither of them is the word "slave" or slavery mentioned

⁸ Clipping from an old Atchison scrapbook.

The word is not used in the clause prohibiting the African slave trade; it is not used in the clause which makes slaves a basis of representation; it is not used in the clause requiring the return of fugitive slaves; and yet, in all the debates in the convention the question was discussed and slaves and slavery talked about. Now, why was this word kept out of that instrument, and so carefully kept out that a European, be he ever so intelligent, if not familiar with our institutions, might read the constitution over and over again and never learn that slavery existed in the United States? The reason is this: The framers of the organic law believed that the constitution would outlast slavery, and they did not want a word there to tell future generations that slavery had ever been legalized in America.

Your territory has had a marked history—no other territory has ever had such a history. There had been strife and bloodshed here; both parties had been guilty of outrages; he had his opinions as to the relative guilt of the parties, but he would not say who had been most to blame. One fact was certain—there had been loss of life, destruction of property; our material interests had been retarded. Was this desirable? There is a peaceful way of settling these questions—the way adopted by government until a recent period. The bloody code has grown out of the new policy in regard to the government of territories.

Mr. Lincoln, in conclusion, adverted briefly to the Harper's Ferry affair. He believed the attack of Brown wrong for two reasons. It was a violation of law; and it was, as all such attacks must be, futile as to any effect it might have on the extinction of a great evil.

"We have a means provided for the expression of our belief in regard to slavery—it is through the ballot box—the peaceful method provided by the constitution. John Brown has shown great courage, rare unselfishness, as even Governor Wise testifies. But no man, North or South, can approve of violence and crime." Mr. Lincoln closed his brief speech by wishing all to go out to the election on Tuesday and to vote as became the free men of Kansas.⁹

There has been no record saved as to the number who heard Lincoln that night in the Great Western at Elwood. Following the speech, Lincoln, Delahay, and Wilder had "supper" together at the hotel and planned the itinerary for the next two days. Lincoln slept that night in the Great Western.

The next morning, December 2, Lincoln was up early. The weather had suddenly changed, as it still does in Kansas,

⁹ *Trans. Kan. State Hist. Soc., 1901-1902*, p. 536-38.

and a bitterly cold north wind was blowing. The only conveyance to be had for the eight-mile trip to Troy was an open buggy drawn by one horse. Delahay and Wilder accompanied Lincoln who "was blue with cold" all the way. Near Troy, Lincoln was met by Henry Villard, a correspondent for a New York newspaper, who was returning from Colorado. He knew Lincoln and was distressed as he saw how cold he looked. He lent him a "buffalo" which Lincoln used on the remainder of the trip.

The official reception committee at Troy was composed of A. D. Richardson, Abel Carter Wilder, and John P. Hatterscheidt. Abel Wilder, brother of Hon. D. W. Wilder, was born in Massachusetts, March 18, 1828, and came to Kansas in March, 1857, drawn thither by the "Kansas question." Being a friend of Wendell Phillips and other New England abolitionists, he felt deeply on the "question" of slavery. He was a delegate to the Osawatomie Convention, in May, 1859, and later became secretary of the first Republican central committee and served as chairman in 1860 and 1862. He was chairman of the Kansas delegation at the Republican National Convention at Chicago in 1860. He was strongly in favor of Seward who was the favorite of the Kansas Republicans from the calling of the Osawatomie Convention. Lincoln knew this and desired to win not only Abel Wilder but as many more as possible. All free-state Kansas newspapers were active in advocating Seward's candidacy. They all knew about him since he had dramatized the cause of freedom in the United States Senate. The rank and file Republicans of Kansas knew little about Lincoln.

Lincoln's speech at Troy lasted for an hour and three quarters and then turned into a debate as several slaveholders replied to him. Kansas pioneers believed in freedom of speech except when Pardee Butler, the Free-Soil preacher, wanted to speak. It is likely that Lincoln used again the speech he had given at Elwood. About forty persons came to the Troy court-

house expecting great excitement as it was whispered about that Colonel Andrew J. Agey, the largest slaveowner in the nearby state and a native of Maryland, would challenge Lincoln. No record of his words of reply has been preserved, but it may be assumed that he used violent language and roundly denounced John Brown, Gerrit Smith, and the New England abolitionists. Smith continued to the last to send money to John Brown. On June 4, 1859, he sent John Brown \$200 and wrote: "You live in our hearts, and our prayer to God is that you may have strength to continue in your Kansas work."¹⁰

Immediately after the Troy speech, Lincoln was driven the ten miles to Doniphan, then a thriving town on the Missouri River, named for General Alexander Doniphan. This town was, in the 1850's, the greatest rival of Atchison and expected to be the metropolis of the Midwest. Later Doniphan declined when the Missouri changed its course and left it an inland town. Today it is only a remnant of a ghost town. Doniphan as a river port had attracted such men as James Redpath, who established there the *Kansas Crusader of Freedom*, a pioneer Doniphan County newspaper, in 1857. Redpath, who had been an early correspondent of the *New York Tribune*, for a short time gave Doniphan "the most brilliant weekly publication Kansas has seen."¹¹ General James H. Lane had pre-empted land and settled at Doniphan as had other pioneer leaders of importance. Lincoln was eager to make a good impression on this strategic river port town.

In Doniphan, Lincoln had luncheon and then gave his third speech which was probably a repetition of the one at Elwood. He spoke in Ashel Lowe's Hotel, one of the most imposing buildings in the town. No record has survived as to the number of persons who heard him, nor is there any mention of a reply. Lincoln must have sensed the tenseness of the coming "rail-splitting campaign which had the effect of arousing

¹⁰ F. B. Sanborn, *Recollections of Seventy Years* (Boston, 1909), I: 166.

¹¹ *Illustrated Doniphan County*, p. 23. This publication cannot be identified better. The copy used by the author had long since lost covers and title page.

the Republicans to a high pitch of enthusiasm, which was practically neutralized by the clamorous activity of the slavery adherents who advanced all the arguments possible to accomplish the defeat of the champion of freedom and equal rights. Threats of secession were freely made by the Democrats, and the 'dare' was as freely given by the Republicans."¹²

From Doniphan Lincoln was driven by Howard Nesbit in a two-horse carriage to Atchison, seven miles away.¹³ According to local tradition, the weather continued very cold, and Nesbit placed a lighted lantern under the buffalo robes to help keep Lincoln comfortable. Judge Nathan Price accompanied Nesbit and Lincoln to Atchison. They reached there late in the afternoon and went to the Massasoit House which stood at Second and Main streets.

Word had reached Atchison, and preparations had been made to get out a large crowd to hear Lincoln. A brass band paraded the streets advertising the meeting that night at 8 o'clock. The largest auditorium in the town was the Methodist Church which stood near the corner of Fifth and Parallel streets, where a stone marker stands today commemorating Atchison's most distinguished opportunity. The use of the Methodist Church could not be readily obtained, as many Methodists believed slavery compatible with Christianity and later they were the only religious group in Atchison that separated into "North" and "South" over the war. Finally all objections were overruled and permission granted Lincoln to speak. After he reached the church, whither he was escorted by the brass band that had advertised his coming, he asked for a glass of water. Mrs. Hill who lived "on the corner nearest the church brought a pitcher of water and one of her best cups out of which Lincoln drank. After Lincoln became President Mrs. Hill cherished this cup until her death."¹⁴

¹² *Illustrated Doniphan County*, p. 22.

¹³ Information given to the author by Mr. T. P. Armstrong and others who knew the Nesbit family and often heard Howard Nesbit tell the story of Lincoln's tour.

¹⁴ Information given to the author by Miss Agnes Gracie, who for many years was teacher in the Atchison school system and a student of Lincoln lore.

The church was crowded and many people stood up around the sides of the auditorium. The Hon. Samuel C. Pomeroy, later one of the first United States Senators from Kansas, introduced Lincoln. Pomeroy was an ardent supporter of Seward and was persuaded to introduce Lincoln only because he was mayor of Atchison. To show his displeasure he had a paper in his hand during the introduction and referred to it to remember Lincoln's name. Everybody was tense in Atchison the night of December 2, 1859, because word had come that John Brown had been hanged that afternoon. Lincoln felt the spirit of the crowd and "fitted his speech into the atmosphere." It was his opportunity and he "warned those who might become guilty of being disloyal to the government, 'If you are guilty of treason, we will hang you as you have hanged old John Brown this afternoon.'"¹⁵ One in Lincoln's audience reported that the speech was "the most logical and vigorous" he had ever heard from a Republican orator. Years later another said, "I shall never forget how Lincoln looked, standing in the little box of a pulpit with his strange ungraceful gestures as he leaned over, seeming with his long arms almost as if he could touch his hearers upon the back benches."¹⁶

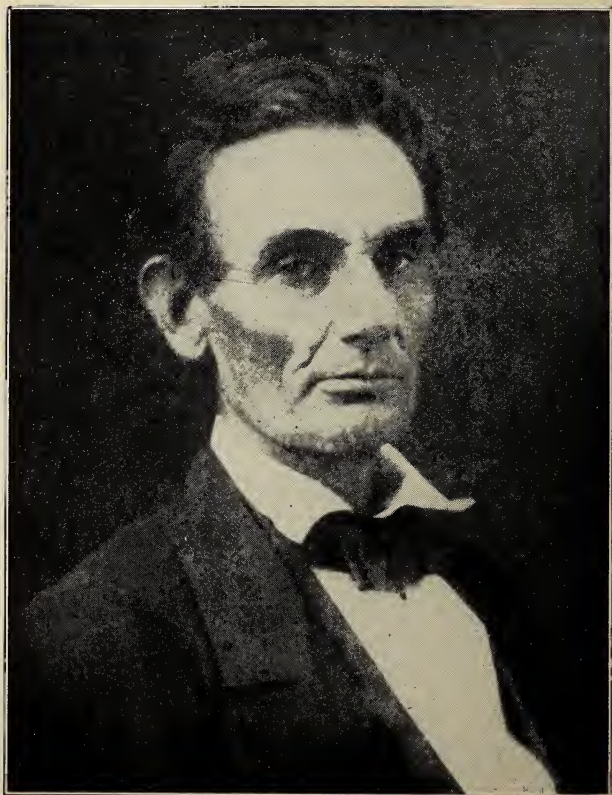
The most valuable report on Lincoln's visit to Atchison, however, is preserved in the "Reminiscences of Franklin G. Adams":

I had first seen Mr. Lincoln and heard him talk in Atchison in 1859. He was not then popularly known in Kansas. He was known to be a candidate for the nomination in 1860 as president. The people of Kansas were for Wm. H. Seward. Seward had fought our battles in the United States senate. He was the idol of our people; yet Lincoln was greatly admired for his noble defense of our free-state cause in his great debate with Douglas in 1858. In Atchison we appointed a committee to receive him and to provide a place for his address in the evening. He was taken to our best hotel, the Massasoit House, and a good many of the citizens

¹⁵ Clipping from an old Atchison scrapbook. John J. Ingalls is reported to have said many years later in referring to this speech that Lincoln, alluding to threats of secession, declared: "If they attempt to put their threats into execution we will hang them as they have hanged old John Brown to-day." *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, Feb., 1945, p. 306.

¹⁶ Clipping from an old Atchison scrapbook.

came into the hotel office to shake hands with him and to hear him talk. He was soon started, with his chair tipped up, and among the first to engage in conversation with him was Col. P. T. Abell, the head and brain of the proslavery party in our town and largely in the territory. Both had been Kentuckians. Abell knew many citizens of Illinois who had moved there from Kentucky. The two immediately found mutual acquaintance.



LINCOLN IN 1859

This picture, according to *The Photographs of Abraham Lincoln* (New York, 1944) by Frederick Hill Meserve and Carl Sandburg, was probably made by S. M. Fassett in Chicago in October, 1859.

about whom they could converse, and Lincoln began to tell stories, relating incidents in the lives of Illinois Kentuckians.

I was on the committee to provide a place for the Lincoln meeting that evening. Judge P. P. Wilcox was a member of the committee. The best audience room in town was that of the Methodist church. Our committee hunted up the trustees, and Wilcox says he had considerable difficulty in gaining consent to have a political meeting in a church. I scarcely remember how it was, but Wilcox says we met with such a rebuff and refusal that he lost his patience, and it took the best I could do in the way of persuasion to get the church, which we did. I still remember the appearance of Mr. Lincoln as he walked up the aisle on entering the church and took his place on the pulpit stand. He was awkward and forbidding, but it required but a few words for him to dispel the unfavorable impression, and he was listened to with the deepest of interest by every member of the audience.

I have mentioned the attachment of the people of Kansas for Wm. H. Seward. Our own local paper, the *Atchison Champion*, of which John A. Martin was the editor, made no mention of Mr. Lincoln's presence in Atchison at that time. Martin was wrapped up in Seward and could not brook the thought of any encouragement or countenance given by the people of Atchison to a rival candidate.¹⁷

Others who heard Lincoln in Atchison were General Benjamin F. Stringfellow, one of the most violent proslavery leaders in Atchison County and in the entire Territory. John J. Ingalls was another Atchison citizen who was destined later to gain fame as a statesman and poet. Frank A. Root, Kansas pioneer and historian, was also there, as was John A. Martin, later governor of Kansas. Ingalls, Adams, and Root all later took great pleasure in retelling Lincoln's Atchison visit. Lincoln spoke two hours and twenty minutes, and his audience grew more enthusiastic as he continued. He felt this was his opportunity, for if he gained Atchison he would win the Kansas delegates from Seward. But he failed to win Kansas. The important "free" newspapers remained loyal to Seward. It is notable that John A. Martin, editor of the *Atchison Champion*, the most influential "free" newspaper in the Territory, suppressed the story of Lincoln's speech in Atchison and even the fact that he was there. Martin had political ambitions and

¹⁷ *Trans. Kan. State Hist. Soc., 1901-1902*, p. 539-40.

believed Seward would be the Republican choice for President. His loyalty to Seward was great enough to cause him to keep Atchison out of American history and to give the glory of the great speech to Cooper Union.

Lincoln spent the night in the Massasoit House at Atchison wondering what impression he had made. He was a keen politician, but Atchison made him wonder. The next morning, December 3, a committee from Leavenworth called on him to take him to that town which aspired to outdo Atchison in its welcome. A brass band and a procession met him and escorted him to the Mansion House where Colonel John C. Vaughan gave an address of welcome. In a brief response Lincoln announced that he would speak that night at Stockton Hall. The Delahays had invited Lincoln to be their guest over Sunday. Delahay's enthusiasm spread and there was a popular request for another address on Monday night. Anxious to see the Territory voting on December 6, he consented and stayed over to learn the result of the election. On December 7, Lincoln left for Springfield, after his first and only week west of the Missouri.

On the following April 11 the Republicans of Kansas Territory met at Lawrence in their convention. John A. Martin of Atchison, was one of the delegates and exerted every influence for Seward, and the six delegates pledged allegiance to him. Lincoln, however, still had some hopes for Kansas, and his Kansas trip did not drop out of his memory if it did out of his history. In March, 1860, five months after his Kansas tour he wrote to a lawyer friend, J. W. Somers, who had asked whether his advice about settling in the West would be the same as Horace Greeley's. Lincoln replied: "If I went West I think I would go to Kansas—to Leavenworth or Atchison. Both of them are, and will continue to be, fine growing places."¹⁸

¹⁸ John G. Nicolay and John Hay, *Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln* (New York, 1905), VI: 6.

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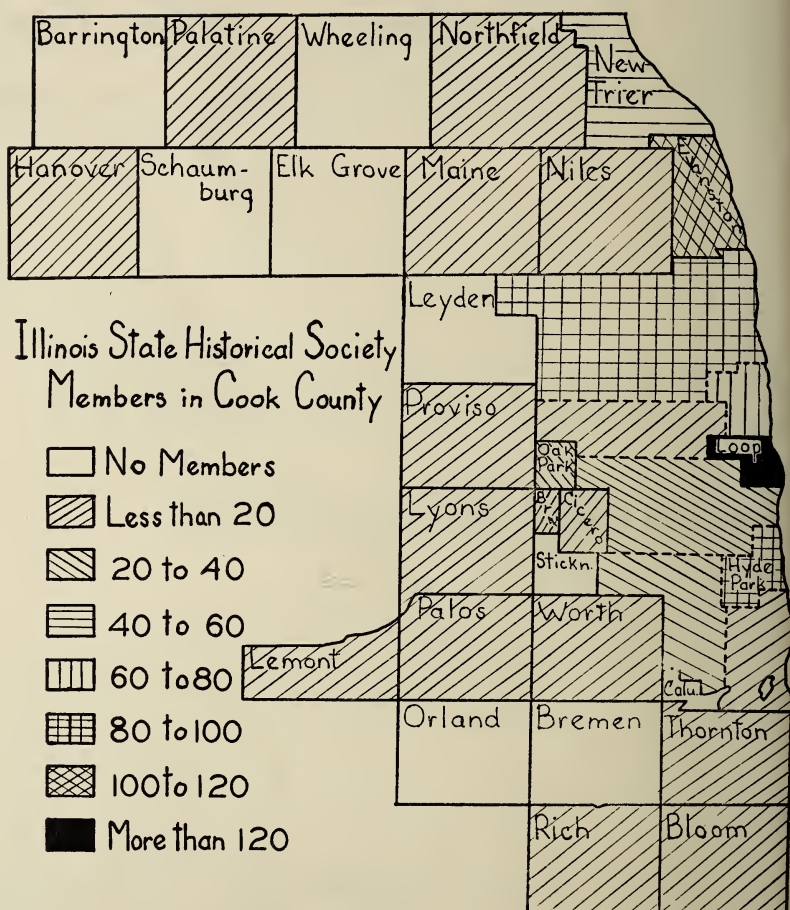


SPRINGFIELD

OCTOBER 7 and 8

Annual Meeting and Celebration of
the Society's Fiftieth Anniversary

COOK COUNTY'S SHOWING



About 800 members of the Illinois State Historical Society live in Cook County but, on the basis of total population, this is one of the weakest showings among the 102 counties of the state—with more than half of the state's population it has less than a fourth of the Society's membership. The above map shows the distribution of this membership throughout the county. Here again, as in the state map published in the *March Journal*, the influence of educational institutions is shown—Evanston (Northwestern University) and Hyde Park (University of Chicago) both having relatively large memberships. Although the Loop shows the largest number of members it is considered as a mailing rather than a residence address.

NOTES ON OLD CAHOKIA

BY CHARLES E. PETERSON

PART TWO: FORT BOWMAN (1778-1780)¹

DURING the first three years of the Revolutionary War in America the villages of the Illinois country remained comparatively secure. Profiting from their long friendship with the near-by Indian tribes, the French were left unmolested.

But the hostilities spread west. While Washington was campaigning on the Atlantic seaboard a cruel war developed on the Virginia frontier beyond the mountains; 1777 became the "bloody year" south of the Ohio. Marauding Indians directed from British Detroit made a nightmare of life in the new settlements of Kentucky. Young George Rogers Clark, a newcomer from Virginia, a leader of men and an Indian fighter of uncommon skill and energy, conceived a campaign to deflect the attention of the enemy by capturing and holding

¹ Part one appeared in the March issue of this *Journal*. For the Revolutionary War period the writer has relied mainly on James Alton James, *Life of George Rogers Clark* (Chicago, c1928) and *George Rogers Clark Papers 1771-1781* (*Illinois Historical Collections*, VIII, Springfield, 1912) and the introduction to Clarence Walworth Alvord, *Cabokia Records* (*Illinois Historical Collections*, II, Springfield, 1907). A portion of the vast store of "George Rogers Clark Papers" in the Virginia State Library, Richmond, were examined in manuscript but what has been used represents only a minor sampling of this rich but formidable collection.

In May, 1949, Cahokia celebrated its two hundred and fiftieth anniversary. A number of publications were issued in connection with this event, notably a volume of new source material: *Old Cabokia*, under the general editorship of John Francis McDermott and published by the St. Louis Historical Documents Foundation (St. Louis, 1949). Chapter V of that volume contains some interesting Revolutionary War documents which supplement the material used in preparing this essay.

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the Illinois country.² Spies sent out to the villages on the Mississippi brought back encouraging intelligence. British troops had been withdrawn for over a year and it was believed that the French inhabitants could be persuaded to join the American cause. Clark rode back over the mountains and sold the idea to Governor Patrick Henry at Williamsburg. Commissioned a lieutenant colonel, he was then placed in command of the prospective expedition.

Clark's orders, issued January 2, 1778, directed him to raise seven companies of soldiers of fifty men each, procure boats at Fort Pitt and proceed with great secrecy to attack and occupy Kaskaskia. There he was then to test the allegiance of the French to the revolutionary cause, and, if sympathetic, they were to "be treated as fellow citizens & their persons & property duly secured." However, if they did not accede to these demands, "they must feel the miseries of war under the directions of that Humanity that has hitherto distinguished Americans."³

The story of the expedition has been outlined many times. It paddled down the Ohio River to Fort Massac where it debarked and quickly marched overland to the Mississippi. The British agent at Kaskaskia did not have enough warning to get reinforcements and he was forced to surrender—without having fired a shot—on July 4, 1778—a fitting second anniversary of the Declaration of Independence. Two days later Clark dispatched Captain Joseph Bowman and a mixed company of Americans and French up to surprise Cahokia. Quoting Bowman's own words:

We rode up to the commander's house and demanded a surrender. He accordingly surrendered himself, likewise all the inhabitants of the place. I then demanded of them to take the oath of fidelity to the states,

² The strategy of the campaign is clearly set out in a letter from Governor Patrick Henry to John Todd, Williamsburg, Dec. 12, 1778: "One Great Good expected from Holding the Illinois is to overaw the Indians from warring on our Settlers on this side the Ohio . . . by being placed on the back of them [you] may inflict timly Chastizement on these enemies, whose Towns are an easy prey in absince of their Warriors." Edward G. Mason, ed., *Early Chicago and Illinois (Chicago Historical Society's Collections, IV, Chicago, 1890)*, 291.

³ Patrick Henry to Clark, Jan. 2, 1778, James, *Clark Papers*, 34-35.

otherwise I should treat them as enemies. They told me they would give me an answer next morning. I then took possession of a strong stone house, well fortified for war, and soon got word that there was a man in the town who would immediately raise 150 Indians, who were near at hand, and cut me off. I, being much on my guard, happened to find out the person and confined him under a guard, and lay on our arms that night, this being the third night we had not closed our eyes. The next morning I assembled the inhabitants together, and, before ten o'clock, 105 of them took the oath of fidelity to the states.⁴

The fall of Cahokia was celebrated at headquarters with the aid of nine bottles of rum.⁵

The very day of this coup Bowman received a message of welcome from the Spanish Lieutenant Governor Fernando de Leyba of St. Louis congratulating him on his happy arrival in the Illinois country. A close military liaison was soon established and the Virginians were pleasantly entertained across the river.⁶ Captain Bowman remained in command at Cahokia,

⁴ Bowman to George Brinker, Kaskaskia, July 30, 1778. James, *Clark Papers*, 616. Clark's version of this adds a great deal of color. He first tells how he persuaded the people of Kaskaskia to help win their Cahokia neighbors to his side: "they appeared Highly please at the Idea and in the Evening the Majr set out with a Troop but little Inferiour to the one we had Marched into the Cuntrey the French being commanded by their former militia officiers these new Friends of ours was so Elated at thought of the Perade they ware to make at Kohas that they ware too much Ingaged in Equ[i]ping themselves to appear to the best advantage that it was night before the party Moved the distance [of] 20 Leagues that it was late in the Morning of the 6th before they Reach Kohokia detaining every person they Met with they got into the borders of the Town before they ware discovered the Inhabitants was at first much alarmed at being thus suddenly visited by strangers in a Hostile appearance and ordered to surrender the Town even by their Friends and Relations but as the confution among the Women Children appeard greater than they expected from the cry of the big Knife being in Town they Amedeately assumed and gave the people a detail of what had happened at Kaskaskias the Majr informed them not to be alarmed that although Resistance at present was out of the question he would convince them that he would prever their friendship than otherways that he was authorized to inform them that they ware at Liberty to become Free americans as their Friends at Kaskaskias had or that did not chuse it might move out of the Cuntry except those that had been ingaged in Inciting the Indians to war Liberty and Freedom & hozaing for the Americans rang thugh the whole Town the Kaskaskias Gentn dispersed among their Friends in a few hours the whole was Imicable [arranged] and Majr Bowman snugly Quartered in the old British Fort some Individuals said that the Town was given up too tamely, but little attention was paid to them a considerable number of Indians that was then incampt in the Neighborhood as this was a principal post of Trade amediately fled." James, *Clark Papers*, 233.

Spanish Lt. Governor Leyba from across the river reported to New Orleans that there were thirty-two men in Bowman's party, that the Cahokians were first required to surrender their arms and then forced to take the oath of allegiance. The chief object of Clark's sending this party so promptly, according to Leyba, was to seize Gabriel Cerré, a prominent merchant of Kaskaskia who, it turned out, was beyond their reach in St. Louis. Leyba to Gálvez, St. Louis, July 11, 1778, *American Historical Review*, Vol. 41, no. 1 (Oct., 1935), 96.

⁵ Voucher, Aug. 14, 1778. George Rogers Clark Papers (MSS, Virginia State Library, Richmond).

⁶ Leyba to Bowman, St. Louis, July 6, 1778, Leyba to Gálvez, Nov. 16, 1778, *American*

organized a militia company of young men and repaired the fort. A local government was set up under what was styled the "Court of the Committee of Cahokia" and when an election was held (to the surprise of the villagers) Bowman was elected judge. The stone house taken over by the Virginians became in effect the northwest bastion of the American colonial defense. It was known as "Fort Bowman."⁷

Six weeks later Cahokia was the scene of a great Indian council. Uninvited, tribes from all the area east of the Mississippi—some coming as far as five hundred miles—"flocked into the Town of Cohos to treat for peace, and to hear what the Big Knives had to say." There was a great deal of high-flown oratory, as was customary on such occasions. Clark had hastily studied French and Spanish Indian diplomacy, as practiced in these parts, and remained master of the situation.

"I must confess," he wrote afterwards, "that I was under some apprehension [*sic*] among such a number of Devils." That there were good grounds for concern was soon evident. A party of Puants ("Stinkers"—from Wisconsin) rashly attempted to kidnap Clark from his quarters on the second night. The guard was alert, however, and the culprits were quickly foiled and apprehended. To the relief of the Americans, Cahokia sprang to arms, giving proof of the loyalty of the French inhabitants. During all this excitement Clark affected great nonchalance, "assembled a Number of Gentlemen & Ladies, and danced nearly the whole Night." No chances were taken, however, for unknown to the Indians, a guard of fifty men

Historical Review, Oct., 1935, pp. 93-94, 101-102. Clark's Memoir, James, *Clark Papers*, 233-35, 239. Alvord stated that the Spanish had been apprised of Clark's expedition before its arrival. C. W. Alvord, "Virginia and the West," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, Vol. III, no. 1 (June, 1916), 32.

⁷ There were several Bowmans in the West. The Cahokia fort was presumably named after its commander, as was Fort Clark at Kaskaskia. According to James, "Major Joseph Bowman was one of Clark's most trusted associates. He was born in Virginia in 1752. When a young man, he came to Kentucky. He was commissioned major of a battalion of volunteers and rendered notable service to Clark at Kaskaskia, Cahokia and Vincennes. His death occurred at Vincennes, February 5, 1782." James, *Clark Papers*, 155n. The commandant of the village was François Trottier, captains, Michel Beaulieu and Pierre Godin, called Turanjeau. Alvord, *Cahokia Records*, lvi.

was concealed in a parlor adjoining the festivities. The Indians were deeply impressed by this bold front and ten or twelve nations chose then and there to make peace. These negotiations were later to pay off.

Vigilance was not relaxed. An example was made of one Cahokian who was caught sending intelligence to a friend near Detroit. The offender was "tied to the tail of a Cart and by drum Received a lash at every Door in Town and Burnt in the Hand for other Misdemeneours."⁸ Clark threatened to hang the next traitor.⁹ During the winter Kaskaskia had an Indian alarm and Bowman hastened down with his Cahokia militia. The enemy appeared but failed to attack on learning of the reinforcement. The Cahokians, who had arrived just in time, were gratefully presented by Clark with "an Elegant Suit of Colours" and enough arms to complete their needs. To the annoyance of Kaskaskia they then "paraded about Town with their New Flag and Equipments," as Clark wrote, "and Viewed themselves as superior to the young Fellows [of] Kaskaskias which cause[d] so much anomosity [*sic*] between the two parties that it did not subside untill I interfeared."¹⁰

January brought the bad news that the British had just occupied Vincennes to the east on the Wabash River. Clark immediately sent over several small parties to pick up some prisoners and find out what was going on. The British were likewise spying on the Illinois country and there were rumors of a major attack from Vincennes being planned by Hamilton.¹¹ Clark quickly determined to take the initiative and called his little army together. Money and supplies were collected. On February 4, Captain McCarty arrived at headquarters with his Cahokia volunteers. Kaskaskia was buzzing with the excitement of preparing for an attack on Vincennes; "the Ladies

⁸ Clark's Memoir, James, *Clark Papers*, 261. Clark spelled his name "Denny"; perhaps it should have been "Denis."

⁹ Clark to Leyba, Kaskaskia, Jan. 23, 1779, *American Historical Review*, Oct., 1935, p. 104.

¹⁰ Clark's Memoir, James, *Clark Papers*, 266.

¹¹ Clark to Leyba, Kaskaskia, Jan. 23, 1779; Leyba to Gálvez, St. Louis, Feb. 5, 1779, *American Historical Review*, Oct., 1935, pp. 104-106. Leyba gave the American strength as 190 men "in a good log fort with seven cannon."

began also to be spirited and interest themselves in the Expedition which had great Effect on the Young men." They were blessed by the priest Gibault and started off across the frozen prairies. This epic march across flooded bottomlands, one of the great physical feats of the Revolutionary War, took the British by surprise and ended with the surrender of Vincennes. Governor Hamilton, notorious on the American frontier as the "Hair Buyer," was put in irons and dragged off to jail in Williamsburg. Fort Sackville, his stronghold, was renamed Fort Patrick Henry. Over half of Clark's attacking force were Illinois French. The Cahokians, who had participated in all of this, helped divide the captured stores and then marched back to resume guard at their own village.

The brilliant success of the expedition made a great impression on Leyba, who wrote to Governor Patrick Henry, "From the time that my friend Colonel Clark arrived in this place, fraternal harmony has reigned between the people from the United States and the vassals of his Catholic Majesty."¹² The British in Canada were shocked. A rumor even gained currency that Clark's men were at Milwaukee building boats for a naval campaign on the Great Lakes.¹³

Clark came up to Cahokia and St. Louis in April, projecting an invasion of Detroit. This never materialized, but that summer Cahokia did mount an expedition for a reconnaissance of the Illinois River, which was led by Major Godefroy Linctot, Indian agent for Virginia and captain of a militia company. There was no contact with the enemy, but the move, combined with propaganda, served to throw a British counter-expedition into confusion. In August Captain McCarty, with lieutenants Perrault and Clark and forty Virginians, was assigned to the defense of Cahokia and arrived there soon afterwards.¹⁴ They

¹² Leyba to Henry, St. Louis, Apr. 23, 1779, *American Historical Review*, Oct., 1935, p. 107.

¹³ Arent S. De Peyster to Frederick Haldimand, Michilimackinac, May 2, 1779, *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society Collections*, IX (Lansing, 1886), 379-80.

¹⁴ Clark's General Orders, Aug. 5, 1779, James, *Clark Papers*, 354. Thomas Quirk to Linctot, Vincennes, Aug. 20, 1779, *Ibid.*, 359-60. Memorial, Sept., 1780, Alvord, *Cahokia Papers*, 549.

were given a house for a barracks and the village guaranteed them provisions.

Most important of all, Spain declared war and both sides of the river were now openly hostile to the British. Long before the arrival of Clark the Spanish had been giving surreptitious aid to the Americans, mainly through the governor at New Orleans. There was much unneutral activity on the Mississippi. In the spring of 1778 it was an open secret in the Illinois country that the Spanish commandant at St. Louis had received a letter from a member of the Continental Congress thanking him for supplies received and the safe conduct of American nationals.¹⁵ Shortly afterwards a cargo of American goods was received at St. Louis under Spanish protection.¹⁶ The British, well aware of what was going on, determined to put a stop to this leak in their blockade of the Colonies. No sooner had Spain declared war than a great campaign was planned in which the British and their Indian allies were to come down from Canada and up from the Gulf, and, sweeping all before them, meet in victory at Natchez. Early in 1780 forces were being assembled in the north. Their orders, written at Michilimackinac by Governor Sinclair, included the sacking of settlements on both sides of the Mississippi. "In case the English garrison does not need all of the animals of Kahokia village you will remove all their horned cattle without leaving them a Single Cow and take such Horses as you need."¹⁷

The preparations were too vast to keep secret and alarms flew from village to village in the Illinois country. On April 11, the citizens of Cahokia sent an urgent plea to General

¹⁵ Charles Gratiot to Morgan, Cahokia, Mar. 5, 1778, Gratiot Papers, Billon Translations (MSS, Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis).

¹⁶ Richard McCarty to John Askin, St. Ursuls, June 7, 1778, *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society Collections*, IX: 368-69. The cargo, remarkably enough, consisted of liquor and 150 bales of red, white, and blue broadcloth.

¹⁷ Patrick Sinclair to Charles Langlade, Michilimackinac, 1780 (MSS, Ayer Collection, Newberry Library, Chicago). The plans also called for Captain Emanuel Hesse to remain at St. Louis, and for the division of the rich Missouri River fur trade among those traders who would co-operate in the occupation. Cahokia, with St. Louis, was to send her cattle to Michilimackinac by way of La Bay for the use of the Indians on their victorious return from this campaign. Patrick Sinclair to Frederick Haldimand, Michilimackinac, May 29, 1780, *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society Collections*, IX: 548-49.



—Courtesy Pennsylvania Historical Society

MAP OF CAHOKIA, 1766(?)

Reproduced here is the principal portion of an untitled manuscript map found by Charles E. Peterson in the papers of Thomas Hutchins at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, and now published for the first time. It was presumably surveyed and drawn by Hutchins, when, as ensign and topographer of the British Colonial Army, he visited Cahokia in the summer of 1766. The key is printed on the opposite page.

Internal evidence leads to the conclusion that this remarkable record is quite accurate in detail. The smallest squares in the graphic scale represent one surveyor's chain or sixty-six English feet. The public square facing the stream known as "the Rigolet" has a small enclosed building, not identified, but probably the French fort described by Captain Pittman as "a small house standing in the center of the village."

To the right (No. 24) is a building keyed to the name Jean La Poincet (Lapancé)—probably what is now called the Cahokia Court-house—with an orchard behind it. Two squares to the left is the long rectangular mission property with four buildings, three enclosures, and

a large orchard. In 1766 this was owned by a lawyer of Montreal, M. Valentine Jautard. In this property, No. 64, keyed to the name Pier Du Main, was probably the Abbé du Forget's new stone *présbytère*, later fortified by the British and Americans (Fort Bowman) and, still later the site of the old frame church now being restored. No church structure is identified on this map.

"The Barrier" is the great fence of the common fields, which lay to the left. The road to Fort Chartres is identified. In the lower center, the road to the new town of Paincourt or St. Louis is shown. Key to the map follows:

Gerardine.....	No. 1 & 2	Messr Baynton & Compy.....	43
Capt. Cleremont.....	3 & 4	Jacque LeCompte.....	41
Gronidine.....	5	Ballcoure.....	42
Lockkette.....	6	Jacque Leonnois.....	
Philip LaFlame.....	743 & Vacant Lott	61
Claude Marlowe.....	8	Courié.....	44
Kele.....	9	Vincent Ferran.....	45
Charles Beouf LaFlame.....	10	Francois Lonval.....	46
Nicol.....	11	Allixe Buette.....	47
Mm Le Becasse.....	12	Francois Dorienne.....	48
Francois LaPiere.....	14	Mr Ferrete.....	49 & 59 a Barn
Pilette.....	15	F Mercié.....	51
Joseph La Chance.....	16	Charle Le Compte.....	52
Philip Jervié.....	17	Toranseaus Barn.....	53
Allixe Corville.....	18	F. Merciés Barn.....	54
Portemoié.....	19	A. Buettes Barn .55 or M. Boleau's	
Mm Francois Labi.....	20	Lockkettes Barn.....	56
Piere Sommillie.....	21	Grammont.....	57
Piere Goddir Toranseau.....	22	Ceceiles Barn.....	58
Francois Trotié.....	23	Robert's Barn.....	60
Jean La Poincet.....	24	Bartholomew.....	62
Michel Boleau.....	25	Chauvin smiths Shop.....	No. 63
Chretienne.....	26	Kele.....	63 a Barn
Francois Pancresse.....	27	Pier Du Main.....	64
Joseph Languedoc.....	28	Jean Batist sans Façon or Har-	
Boudriau Gammon.....		mand.....	65
.....29 & 31 A Barn		Crown Lotts 4	
Jacquet or Germain.....	30	Mm Ferete the Segts Widow	
Grammont.....	32	La Chance of Oka	
Ceciele....	34 & 33 A Negro Lott	Trotié	
Robert....	36 & 35 ..ditto..	M. La Pancet	
Amiable LePage.....	37	Indian Village & Burying	
Joseph LePage..	38 & 60 his Barn	Ground.....	No. 64
Billon & Brother.....	39		

Clark, who was then engaged in building a fort at the mouth of the Ohio River.¹⁸ "We are on the eve of being attacked in our village," ran the message, "and can not work at the cultivation of our grounds, if we have not prompt assistance."¹⁹ Early in May Captain John Rogers came up from the south with a company of Virginia cavalry called "Light Dragoons" to garrison Fort Bowman which was cleaned up, repaired, and made ready for action.²⁰ On May 15, Rogers went to St. Louis with Colonel John Montgomery to make joint defense plans with the Spanish commandant. At first it was thought that an expedition should be sent up the river to head off the attack. Montgomery proposed to mount two hundred and fifty men—one hundred of whom would be provided from St. Louis—fully provisioned and equipped with boats, artillery, and ammunition. As the colonel, whose bravery evidently outclassed his spelling, wrote, "if they prove too hard for us it is only to Retreat down Streeme But Should their number Note be more than two for one Nothing but death Shall yeald the Surrender." The Cahokians were game and "redy to turn out to a man."²¹ But it was fortunate that this party never left, for the

¹⁸ This was Fort Jefferson. Rumor around St. Louis in the spring of 1780 had it that Clark was going to build "a considerable stone fort" both at the mouth of the Ohio and at Cahokia. J. Papin to Reilhe, St. Louis, March 23, 1780, *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society Collections*, X (Lansing, 1888), 381-82. Actually Clark was planning to evacuate the Illinois country as soon as Fort Jefferson was completed. Governor Jefferson had directed Clark to have "only as many men as will be necessary for keeping the Illinois settlements in spirits." Jefferson to Clark, Williamsburg, Jan. 29, 1780, Clarence W. Alvord, *Kaskaskia Records (Illinois Historical Collections*, V, Springfield, 1909), 147. The British attacked before this could be done.

¹⁹ James, *Clark Papers*, 411.

²⁰ Rogers to Clark, Kaskaskia, May 9, 1780, Rogers to Clark, Cahokia, May 15, 1780, Voorhis Collection (MSS, Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis).

²¹ John Montgomery to Clark, Fort Bowman, May 15, 1780, Voorhis Collection (MSS, Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis).

Some idea of the logistics of the defense may be got from the Cahokia and Fort Bowman vouchers of the *George Rogers Clark Papers*:

May 13, 1780, to Mr. Buteau, *Père*, (translation) "You are ordered to board a soldier of the garrison for which you will render an account." (Signed) F. Trottier, Captain of Militia.

May 18, "I promise to pay Mr. La Croix or his order on the first day of September next, the quantity of five hundred Weight of Deers Leather or the Value thereof in Merchandize at the Price that Merchandize may Bear in this Country By the whole Sale at that time for value of him received in one Black Stalion with a good Saddle and Bridle for the Light Dragoons of my Troop." (Signed) John Rogers, Captain Light Dragoons.

May 24, To Mr. Crutchen, Commissary, "Sir—Please issue the Bearer forty Rations of provisions for proceeding up the Mississippi on the Service of the State." (Signed) Richard McCarty.

enemy, striking on May 26, were found to number a thousand strong.

On receiving urgent dispatches from the commandants of St. Louis and Cahokia, Clark had hastened up the river, arriving less than twenty-four hours before the enemy. Cahokia, garrisoned with some four hundred troops, held off the invaders with a loss of only one Virginia officer, three men, and five prisoners.²² St. Louis was attacked soon afterward. The wind being from the wrong quarter, warning signals were not heard and a number of persons out in the fields west of that town were killed.²³ Although the defense was considerably outnumbered, the attacking force was little more than a frontier mob poorly led. After performing the usual barbarities, including the burning alive of victims, they retired to the northward. The year 1780 was long remembered as "*L'Année du Coup*."²⁴

A pursuit was organized under Colonel Montgomery, who left Cahokia on June 13 with a large party of soldiers and Indians.²⁵ The Spanish commandant at St. Louis furnished an

²² Sinclair to Haldimand, Michilimackinac, July 8, 1780, *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society Collections*, IX: 558-60.

²³ John Montgomery to Board of Commissioners for the Settlement of Western Accounts, Feb. 22, 1783, *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, III (Richmond, 1883), 441-44. A. P. Nasatir, "The Anglo-Spanish Frontier in the Illinois Country during the American Revolution 1779-1783," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, Vol. 21, no. 3 (Oct., 1928), 321. See also James Alton James, "The Significance of the Attack on St. Louis, 1780" in *Proceedings of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, 1908-1909*, Vol. II (Cedar Rapids, Iowa, 1910), 212.

²⁴ Through information received from the Indians of the vicinity, Sinclair had been led to believe the "reduction" of St. Louis would not be difficult. There were said to be only twenty men and a like number of brass cannon. The failure of the attack he blamed to the perfidy of Ducharme and Calvé, two traders in the command. Sinclair to Haldimand, Michilimackinac, Feb. 17, July 8, 1780, *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society Collections*, IX: 546-47, 558-60.

Accounts of the attack appear in all St. Louis histories. See also A. P. Nasatir, "The Anglo-Spanish Frontier in the Illinois Country during the American Revolution 1779-1783," *Jour. Ill. State Hist. Soc.*, Vol. 21, no. 3 (Oct., 1928), 318.

²⁵ Orders, receipts, and other memoranda in the George Rogers Clark Papers give an idea of the preparations made at Fort Bowman for the expedition. Many are signed by Martin Carney or James Finn, quartermasters. Here are samples:

June 2. To the armorer: "Sir please to Repair the Bearer[']s Gun."
 " 3. Receipt for "dear Skins for the Use of troops Going on the Exped."
 " 6. "Please to make a knew Britch and harden Steel of Nicholas Totles. Gun and Charge to the States."
 " 7. Receipt to Bissonet for twenty oars and for hauling same in cart.
 " 9. To Vashure: "Please to make two Loops for David Ambrous' Gun."
 " 10. To Vashure: "Please to make Fifty Nails to Recapar the Barge."
 " 11. To Vashure: "Please to make a Cock pin for one of the Indians Going on the Expedition."

additional hundred troops, making a total of three hundred and fifty. The expedition then proceeded up the Mississippi and Illinois rivers to Peoria and then across to the Rock River. They missed the enemy completely and had to be content with burning a Sauk Indian village and destroying its crops.²⁶ Late in July the men were back in Cahokia, after great hardships during which they had to eat their own horses.²⁷ "For my part," wrote Captain Rogers, "I am very sorry that and Expedition was ever attempted."²⁸ The French blamed the Virginians for its failure, charging them with lack of management and bad conduct.²⁹

However, the captains of the militia and the principal inhabitants met two weeks later in a general council of war to decide on measures for defense. It was decided to send a scouting party of ten men to reconnoiter the Illinois River, that each inhabitant should keep a two weeks' supply of food on hand for any emergency and that all boats at the village should be secured and guarded.³⁰

Cahokia then waited for another attack, which never came. While Clark had been with his men they were kept under control.³¹ But the Colonel had to leave Cahokia on June 4, for Kentucky, where the Indians were again raiding the outposts. Captain Rogers gives a dismal picture of conditions at Cahokia shortly afterward:

We last Night received Intelligence of a large party of White and

June 12. Receipt to Guion for 140 pounds of flour for making "bisket."

"12. Receipt for "tin lb. of Lead for the Use of the troops Going on the Expedition." A "Return of Volunteers" dated June 12, shows that one group of a dozen Cahokians had elected John J. R. Hanson as their leader and they applied for the necessary provisions and ammunition.

²⁶ Montgomery to Board of Commissioners for the Settlement of Western Accounts, Feb. 22, 1783, *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, III: 441-44. *Jour. Ill. State Hist. Soc.*, Oct., 1928, p. 322.

²⁷ Montgomery to George Webb, Richmond, Apr. 23, 1782, Alvord, *Kaskaskia Records* 198.

²⁸ Rogers to Clark, Kaskaskia, July 22, 1780, Voorhis Collection.

²⁹ Memorial, Sept. 21, 1780, Alvord, *Cahokia Records*, 541.

³⁰ Court record, Aug. 16, 1780, Alvord, *Cahokia Records*, 61-63. The commandant at St. Louis had invited them to provide half the number of a 50-man detachment for this purpose *Ibid.*, 59.

³¹ "Although his soldiers are bandits in appearance, he has them under the best of control." Leyden to Gálvez, St. Louis, July 21, 1778, *American Historical Review*, Oct., 1935, p. 96.

other Savages on their way to This place again, much larger than the former, if they come I expect they will meet with a reception sootable for such Cattle as they are. . . I begin to Get very Uneasy to see no Likely hood of being furnished and my Men are geting much more so; as to the way I am situate here tis the most Disageable I ever was in with the sight of confusion hussle Bussle Neglegence & regular Irregularity and Lastly No Subordination whatever. . . to serve in a place where there is neither Credit Honour reputation nor Eaven the Good will of the very people you are defending tis hard serveing. two hard for me.³²

For more than a year there had been serious differences between the civilian and the military. Captain McCarty's French recruits were deserting and crossing the river to St. Louis, and the Cahokians threatening to drive the rest away as early as September, 1779.³³ The Virginians were in for a bad winter.

The *habitants*, taking stock of their own troubles, found them numerous. Many indignities rankled in their breasts. One fifth of their cattle and more than forty horses had been taken by the Virginians, who, in the meantime, "did not deign to do the least guard duty." A hundred men were billeted with the various families of the village and there was friction in all quarters. When one soldier had complained about the bill of fare in the home where he was quartered his captain had demanded that the host, though a poor man, kill all his chickens to tone up the menu. Major Williams, commanding at Cahokia, held a pistol at the head of one Gagné and threatened to blow off his head when he remonstrated against taking one of these unwelcome boarders. It was also claimed that the same officer seized some rum at the house of Lefevre, the blacksmith, when he was refused the "loan" of it. Searching for flour, a sergeant and his men threatened the owners of the mills where they could find them, and broke into others and marked them with the stamp of the state of Virginia as confiscated. Payment

³² Rogers to Clark, Cahoes, Aug. 2, 1780, Voorhis Collection.

³³ John Williams to Clark, Kaskaskia, Sept. 25, 1779, Alvord, *Kaskaskia Records*, 122-23, also Sept. 29, 1779, *ibid.*, 125-26.

Before the end of the year, however, it was reported of the Virginians "there is no discipline observed." Hamilton to Haldimand, Vincennes, Dec. 18, 1778, H. W. Beckwith, ed., *Illinois Historical Collections*, I (Springfield, 1903), 232.

could not be made for such damages because the paper money of the Continental Congress carried by the Virginians had become practically worthless—"not worth a Continental." It was even suspected that Major McCarty was plotting to send two of the leading citizens back to Virginia in irons to satisfy a personal grudge.³⁴ The morale of the Virginians, who seem to have retired after the failure of their Rock River expedition, sank to an absolute low. Captain McCarty crossed with the civil government and was arrested for treason by Colonel Montgomery. The latter was suspected of embezzling some peltries and "taking up with an infamous Girl, leaving his wife & flying down the River" to New Orleans.³⁵

Cahokia was finally evacuated on orders to come to the relief of Fort Jefferson. It must have been welcome news to the beleaguered garrison, which was now sick and starving. Provisions were down to corn without either grease or salt and several men died. Captain McCarty commandeered some private boats for the evacuation, and, passing down the Mississippi, had to leave several of the ill along the way.³⁶

In these unhappy times an adventurer from France by the name of Augustin Mottin de la Balme arrived in the Illinois country from the East. Recommended by Benjamin Franklin

³⁴ A petition by the French for indemnity in after years declared that the Illinois Regiment "at their arrival among us, were in the most shabby and wretched state, very little short of absolute nakedness; upon the pledged faith of the United States, all the stores throughout the Country were freely opened to them succours of every kind they wanted; we supplied them with alacrity, and for a number of Years, gave away our provisions, our Peltries, our Store Goods, untill we had nothing left to give." Memorial to Congress, Feb. 28, 1788, Alvord, *Kaskaskia Records*, 454-55.

That the lack of clothes was no exaggeration is shown in a letter from Captain John Rogers on the way to Cahokia: "Pray hurry Mr. Carney about having the Skins Dressed for the use of my Troop and should the Goods Come up soon I hope I may get Timely notice so that I may get the remdr. of the Cloathing for my Men . . . so that we may be in order for Business a Soldier well clothed is worth two Naked ones it Inspires them with Corage whereas a Naked man is Cowed and ashamed of himself." Rogers to Clark, Kaskaskia, May 8, 1780, Voorhis Collection.

Leyba wrote that Clark had arrived at Kaskaskia "in hunting shirt and breech cloth, naked of foot and limb and with his bed, food, and gun on his shoulder." Leyba to Gálvez, St. Louis, July 11, 1778, *American Historical Review*, Oct., 1935, pp. 94-96.

³⁵ John Todd to Thomas Jefferson, Lexington, Jan. 24, 1781, *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, I (Richmond, 1875), 460.

³⁶ Arthur Clinton Boggess, *The Settlement of Illinois, 1778-1830* (*Chicago Historical Society's Collections*, V, Chicago, 1908), 25-26. Rogers and his Light Dragoons were transferred to Kaskaskia and were there as late as Jan., 1781. Alvord, *Kaskaskia Records*, 212.

in Paris and boasting an acquaintance with other American war leaders, he represented himself as an agent of the King of France. He was received with enthusiasm by the French and more or less ignored by Colonel Montgomery. In a great address to the *habitants* Colonel La Balme recalled their common origin, deplored the knavery of the Virginians, recalled the cruel use of hostile Indians by the British, and urged his new friends to rally round him to make an attack on Detroit. "I am ready to shed my blood in your behalf,"³⁷ declared the Colonel, and he seemed to promise a happy and victorious return to the *ancien régime*. About eighty French and Indians joined him and marched off on October 3, under the French flag.³⁸

As a part of this campaign Cahokia sent out a raiding party of sixteen men under the half-breed Jean Baptiste Hamelin. This was equipped with pack horses and timed to arrive at the trading post of St. Joseph's just when the local Indians had left on their first hunt of the season. Only an old chief and his family remained. The Cahokians overcame the traders at the post and, loading fifty bales of merchandise on their horses, started for home.

But the triumph was short-lived. A party of British sympathizing Indians was raised for the pursuit, and Hamelin was overtaken at a place called the *Petit Fort* on December 5. The Cahokians refused to surrender and were badly beaten—four killed, two wounded, and seven taken prisoner. Three escaped

³⁷ La Balme was particularly bitter against the Virginians. His speech on this subject even questioned their right to be in the Illinois country:

"It is well that you be informed, gentlemen, that the troops of the State of Virginia have come here against the will of the other states of America, as I learned from the members of Congress, even before my departure from Philadelphia, and that the different deputies who compose the said Congress are ignorant of the revolting proceedings and acts of violence, not only to be blamed but to be condemned before the tribunals of the whole world, which these troops are practicing against you." Address of La Balme, Sept. 17, 1780. Alvord, *Kaskaskia Records*, 182-83.

Richard Winston wrote of La Balme "I look upon him to be a Mal Content much disgusted with the Virginian yet I must say he done some good, he Pacified the Indians, he was received by the Inhabitants as the Hebrews would receive the Messiah." Winston to John Todd, Kaskaskia, Oct. 17, 1780, Alvord, *Kaskaskia Records*, 195-96.

³⁸ Alvord, *Cahokia Records*, xc-xcii.

in the thick woods.³⁹ The main force of the expedition had met defeat a month earlier with La Balme himself and thirty or forty of his men killed near the village of the Miami Indians.⁴⁰ This bitter loss spelled the collapse of the short-lived hopes of the French.

With help from Spanish St. Louis a successful reprisal was made in the middle of the winter. Twenty Cahokians were in the party which again sacked St. Joseph.⁴¹ This seems to have been the last military action of the Revolutionary War in which Cahokia participated.

John Rogers, back in Harrodsburg in April, 1781, reported the Illinois country to be "in an absolute State of Rebellion."⁴² The fort at the mouth of the Ohio was evacuated in June and after the American victory at Yorktown in October only a few agents were left at Cahokia and her neighbors "for the purpose of Intelligence."⁴³ In January, 1783, on the settlement of the peace, the Illinois Regiment was finally disbanded. It had played an important part in winning America's war of independence and Cahokia had done much to make it possible.

³⁹ Arent S. De Peyster to Frederick Haldimand, Detroit, Jan. 8, 1781, *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society Collections*, X: 450-51. Sinclair to Mathews, Island of Michilimackinac, Feb. 23, 1781, *ibid.*, IX: 629. John Reynolds, *The Pioneer History of Illinois* (Belleville, Ill., 1852), 67-69.

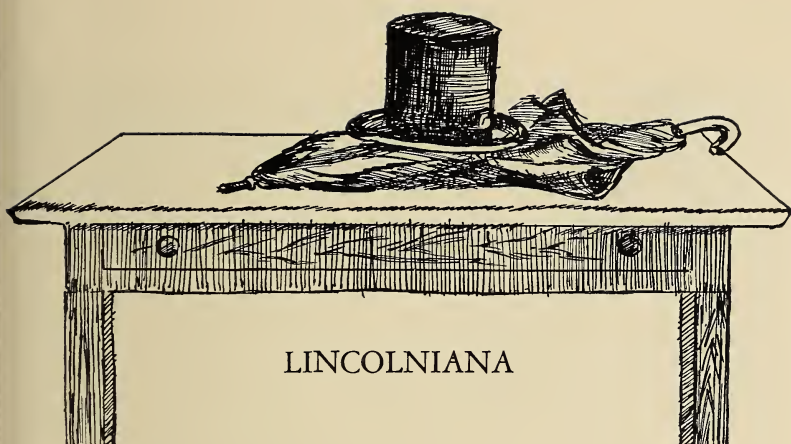
McCarty wrote of the defeat of "a party of 17 men from Cahos to St. Josephs. they took the place. Great Quantity of Goods, 22 prisrs, and behaved as wisely as the others, and were defeated, all killed or taken Except three have made their Escape." McCarty to Slaughter, Jan. 27, 1781, *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, I: 465.

⁴⁰ James, *Life of George Rogers Clark*, 215. De Peyster to Haldimand, Detroit, Nov. 16, 1780, *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society Collections*, X: 448. According to Richard Winston, La Balme got about fifty volunteers at Kaskaskia and Cahokia. Winston to Todd, Kaskaskia, Oct. 24, 1780, *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, I: 381.

⁴¹ McCarty to John Slaughter, Jan. 27, 1781, *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, I: 465. See also James, *Life of George Rogers Clark*, 220-21. For a contemporary Spanish account of this exploit, see Nasatir, *Jour. Ill. State Hist. Soc.*, Oct., 1928, pp. 343-50. The party was led by Eugenio Pourée and Charles Tayon. It left St. Louis Jan. 2, 1781, raised the Spanish flag at St. Joseph on Feb. 12, destroyed military stores and departed, suffering no casualties. According to one apologist, the attacking party arrived "at a time that all the Indians were yet at their hunt, excepting a few young men who were not sufficient to oppose one hundred white People and Eighty Indians." Speech of Assimut, Detroit, Mar. 11, 1781, *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society Collections*, X: 453. The Cahokia group seems to have been led by M. Trottier.

⁴² Rogers to Jefferson, Harrodsburg, Apr. 29, 1781, James, *Clark Papers*, 546.

⁴³ Clark to the Governor of Virginia, Feb. 18, 1782, *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, III: 68.



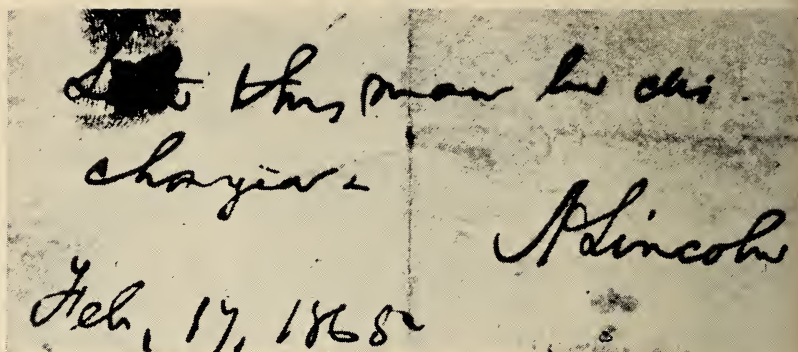
LINCOLNIANA

WHO MADE THE FINGERPRINTS?

In 1948 the State Historical Library purchased what appeared to be a fingerprint of Abraham Lincoln's—probably the only one known (Fig. A). News of this acquisition appeared in the press, and William Steiger, a former resident of Springfield, Illinois, produced two more (Fig. B) which had every appearance of genuineness. Now, Mr. James Christensen, fingerprint expert for the State Bureau of Criminal Identification and Investigation, after carefully examining and photographing both prints states that they were probably not made by the same person. Mr. Christensen is not positive about this as all the prints are imperfect, but the width of the ridges on the Steiger print do not seem similar to those on the Historical Library print when both are magnified. An

examination of the inks under various infra-rays indicates that they are identical. The date of the Steiger print is September 10, 1864, and the Library's fingerprint is on a note dated February 17, 1865. They then appear to be contemporary—but which is Lincoln's and which was made by someone else in his office?

A brief history of each document bearing these fingerprints may help clear up this mystery. The Steiger prints appear on a blank sheet of paper that contains nothing else but the signature, "A. Lincoln." This sheet of paper was sent by Gustavus A. Matile, during the Civil War, to S. N. Holmes, an autograph collector. Matile had been born in Switzerland in 1807. Educated in law at Berlin and Heidelberg, he had taught law and

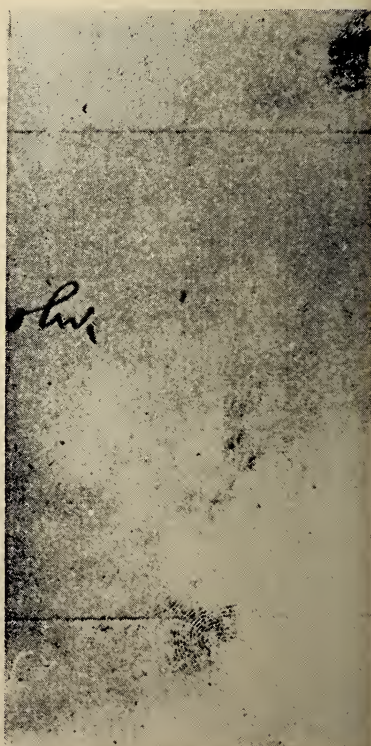


~~Let~~ this man be dis-
charged
Feb. 17, 1868
A. Lincoln

FINGERPRINT IN THE HISTORICAL LIBRARY (FIG. A.)

become a judge when the revolutions of 1848 made him decide to come to America. Here he was a professor of law at Princeton, then of French at the University of Pennsylvania. In 1864 he was a secretary for Abraham Lincoln, mentioned briefly in John Hay's diary. Matile himself, in a letter to Holmes, written before he sent the fingerprints, stated: "I may not remain in public office very long, for I find that my experience in law matters is getting rusty." In spite of these misgivings Matile's legal knowledge must have continued to corrode for, although he left Lincoln's office, he was employed as a translator in the Interior Department at the time of his death in 1881.

Matile, as has been said, accompanied the autograph of Lincoln's that he sent to Holmes with a letter which stated: "The finger marks on the paper *are also his* [Lincoln's].



STEIGER PRINTS (FIG. B.)

Washington Sept 10. 1864

S. N. Holmes Esq.

Dear Sir.

I have duly received
yours of Aug 28.

I now send you
the autograph of the
President & will send
you the ~~and~~ other
as soon as I have
the leisure to run
the different Depts

In haste yours.

G. E. Matile.

the finger marks on the paper are also his. They
will do as the olden times seals that were made by
impressing the finger of the sender.

They will do as the olden times seals that were made by impressing the thumb on the wax."

This appears to be the best of evidence but there is one thing questionable about it. Both prints seem to have been made by the person who folded the paper. Take a piece of paper and fold it for an envelope and you will notice that your first or second finger falls where the bottom print appears (Fig. B) and the upper fingerprint may well be made by your thumb as you turn over the top of the page. Now Matile, not Lincoln, was probably the man who folded the page for insertion in his letter. On the other hand, if these are his fingerprints he must have opened the sheet after once folding it or he would not have seen the fingerprints. It is perhaps beside the point to note that Matile was a man of fifty-seven whose best days were over and who seems to have been dreaming at times about earlier achievements in the law.

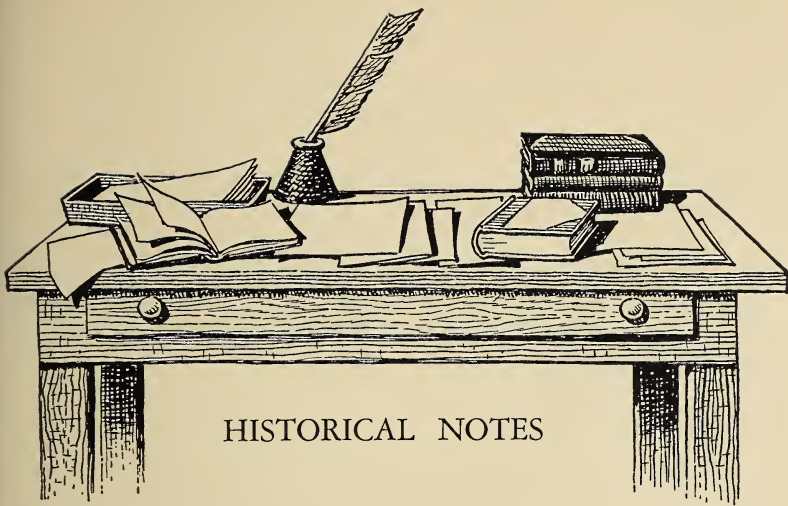
Now let us examine the fingerprint at the State Historical Library. This was obviously made by the writer's left hand or by the right hand of a clerk who may have

taken it from Lincoln when he signed it. At first glance it might appear that there had been a blot in the word "let" and someone—either Lincoln or his clerk—picked up the letter, pressing his finger on this blot. This, however, does not seem to be the case. Again, I ask you to try it. If you put your thumb on a drop of ink you will not make a fingerprint. But if after putting your finger on a drop of ink you lift it and put it down again, then you will make a print. The print, then, must have been made by a finger which was inky before touching the paper. Whether Lincoln picked up this paper with an inky hand or whether it was handled by a clerk is hard to determine. Note, however, that this print is splayed as by a scar and that it was made by the left thumb of the writer. Remember, too, that Lincoln's left thumb carried a scar which he received as a wood chopper.

Now list the evidence on both sides and decide for yourself which is Lincoln's fingerprint. Frankly, this writer does not know.

JAY MONAGHAN

EDITORS' NOTE: Since the above article was written we have received word of another Lincoln fingerprint discovered in California. When complete details about it are available they will be reported in this *Journal*.



HISTORICAL NOTES

THREE HARDCRABBLE SCRIBES

The following letters, recently given to the Illinois State Historical Library by Peter Rizzo, of Streator, Illinois, were found by him in 1938. As a boy he was an avid stamp collector and while diligently searching through a rubbish heap at the Streator city dump he came across these manuscripts. All three are apparently written home to Streator, then familiarly known as "Hardscrabble."

The letters, while not unusual, add just a bit more contemporary, authentic detail on the pioneers—particularly the one dated in 1860 (unfortunately unsigned) describing the thousands of settlers pouring into "new braskey" and on west.

The third letter, from Elmer Ramey, pictures the beauties of the Cimarron River bottoms. This letter is dated July 16, 1886. In 1887 the squatters and cattlemen in the region sought to organize this country into Cimarron Territory. Their proposal to Congress was referred to the Committee on Territories where it remained. The area now constitutes the panhandle of Oklahoma.

Spelling, punctuation, and capitalization have not been changed.

JUNE THE 18TH
1860

DIRECT TO GLENWOOD
MILLS COUNTY
IOWA

DEAR BROTHER AND SISTER

we are now campt in the great State of new braskey about 4 miles from Omaha we crosed the Missouri river on sunday the 17 of june we are all well as usual we had

some good times and some hard times but take it all to gether we had a no 1 time the river is about 1 mile wide and a mity Swift runing river as for work i dont no wether we will get any or not but we will soon find out i am 8 pounds hevier than i was when i started so much for robing henroosts and garden sass i had no idea of seeing so many emigrants evry good camping spot

is blocked with them put them in one string and they wood reach from here to Scrabble new braskey is a nice a looking country as a man need to want the misouria hills along the river are almost mountains there is some mity nice cities on the road devenport city is a beautiful city and iowa city and Desmoine city and council bluffs city are all nice cities omaha city is about the sise of otawa a great deal of bisness done of all kinds there is thousands of teams crossing the plains they pay \$20 a month for drivers but i dont think i will go for that money i dont see wheare so many people come from every sinse i got up this morning they have been mostly ox teams no difrance which way you look you can see plenty emigrants in camp but there is room for millions more good prarie land far as far as you can see with a Telascope some of the land is pretty flat the only difculty here there is hardly any timber corn is 40 cts coal is \$1 25 cts a bushel in omaha that is a little higher than scrable coal

June 22 Well jo i will finish my letter i have seen all i want to in new braskey there is no work to be had hare there is somany there now they cant half get work i am in iowa now doing well me and edward and oliver Stuart are all working for the same man in mills county iowa

Direct to glenwood mills county iowa only 20 miles from misouria we ware all together last sonday night we are well scatterd now little john has gone across the planes and ham Stewart and his wife has Started back to Scrable

well jo i want you to write to me and let me no what i have drawn in that lottery and let me no what

they are a doing about that farm of mothers write me a good letter as for me i dont no when i will see home for as soon as i get a good chanse and good wages i will cross the planes there was 200 teames went through this city day before yesterday

AUGUST THE 18th 1864

DEAR BROTHER i hasten to answer your kind letter that i have just received and am glad to hear from you your letter found me in good health mother is well as usual i got a letter from george a few days ago he is well and hearty when he wrote he said he had been 72 days on the battle feild marching and fiting all the time there was 108 men killed in his rigiment at one battle in 15 minits he said you must write to him direct to Chatenuga Tennessee i was to a picnic yesterday i took that little inglish gal and had a jolly old time Well jo i got your letter just in time for in less than 24 hours i wood have been at your door but as you are a going to be from home i hardly think ile come just yet but if i dont come before long i cant come till winter Well jo your letter has cought me without much money this time the man i am working for has bought him a farm in the south part of this state and started yesterday him and his woman to pay for it and put in some rye and fall wheet but if i had got your letter one day sooner i could have Sent you your desire he took four Thousand dollars with him and he owes me upwards of \$50 Well jo i am glad to hear that hard Scrable is weaned and got to growing i want you to look out for a good job of diging coal for you and me for i have nothing to hinder me from comeing next win-

ter and working with you get evry thing ready you may look for me over the first of septembr for if i dont come then i cant come till the first of december for my time is not out till then i will write to my boss and see if i can get any money because he is not a going to be at home for 5 weeks and when i come over i will bring you the rest i dont want you to think that i have got it to spare and wont send it for that is not my principle mother and susan and all the folks wood like to see you and the generals Well jo i will have to close you may look for me ove by the 10 of Sept if i come at all

Answer my letter amediatly.
Still remaining your affectionate brother

Alfred H. Ramey
Joseph H. Ramey

J RAMEY

ENGLEWOOD JULY 16TH/86

DEAR PARENTS—I will try and—write you a few lines once more & let you know I was in the land of the living & good health. I am at present on the Cimerone [Cimarron] River bottoms, 5 miles from the town where I will mail this letter I have been down in Texas once and I am going back now. I have 640 acres of land in the State of texas and 160 in the newtral

strip, & one Hundred and twenty in barber County Kas making 920 in all and I guess that will be enough for Ramey. I suppose you will have a talk with Charles before you get this letter. and I expect he will give this countery a bad name and me to but dont you believe him for it is not so for he just fooled his place away and then spent the money do not tell him I told you any thing about him. by the way I give Charlie a Photo of myself Cabinet size to give you, if he dose not bring it to you go and get it. for I have not got any more. I am going to keep sending you folks my picture and maybe you will send me some of yours in the course of a year or two more. I have been all over the west went in a wagon and the wind and sun has made me as black as a Spaniard several people have taken me for one but that will come off in the sweet by & by I wish you folks [line illegible] and get another section I know you would make more money than you have made in a life time. I do not suppose you think so, I have about 4 or 5 hundred acres of land on my section, and the prettiest stream you ever saw in some places it is 25 and 30 feet deep and just full of Black Bass from 2 to 8 lbs. address Elmer Ramey Newtral City Newtral strip Via Englewood Kans





ILLINOIS SCRAPBOOK

TRUE DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES IN EGYPT

After the fall of Vicksburg I proceeded to Mound City, Illinois, to superintend affairs on the Tennessee and Cumberland Rivers, and to increase the size of the Mississippi squadron, which had diminished in numbers since the commencement of the siege. . . .

The surgeon of the fleet, Dr. P., was one of the cleverest of men personally and professionally, and afforded a fresh illustration of the old saying that the most valuable goods are generally put up in the smallest packages. The fleet-surgeon was of a social disposition, and a favorite with everybody, but woe to any one who ran counter to him on the subject of rank, or invaded what he considered his rights. He would get out his brace of Derringers, and whoever had affronted him must make the *amende honorable* or fight. . . .

Mound City, where the naval station was situated, is in that part of Illinois known as "Egypt," and the condition of the rural population in that quarter was rather primitive.

"A great Democratic meeting" was to be held on a certain day a few miles from Mound City, and the little doctor resolved to be present. He therefore provided himself with a speech, borrowed a racing mare from me, and, clothed in his uniform, set out for the scene of action.

There was a large assemblage of persons of the genuine peanut-and-molasses-candy stripe, and, when the fleet-surgeon hove in sight on his racing mare, he was received with loud applause.

Speaking was fairly under way at the time, and a blood-and-thunder orator was laying down what he affirmed to be the true principles of

Democracy, when the doctor interrupted him, calling out, "You don't know what Democracy means as laid down by Thomas Jefferson!"

"Who in thunder are you?" said the orator. "You're too small a man to be a Democrat; we want fellows big enough to vote."

The doctor felt for his pistol, but, fortunately, he had left it on ship-board, so, shaking his fist at the orator, he sang out, "Wait till I get the floor, and I will strip off all your borrowed plumes and show you up in your true colors!"

"Let the little fellow speak!" cried out a dozen voices; "let's hear what true Democratic principles are," and a large man picked the doctor up and dumped him upon the platform.

"There, now, my little man," said his bearer, "let's hear a true exposition of Democratic principles. You ain't much to look at, but I'll bet you know more about Democracy than any one in this crowd."

The doctor did not require any urging; such an opportunity did not occur every day, and he at once commenced his speech:

"Fellow-citizens! you see before you a man who has never failed to maintain the true principles of Democracy under all circumstances—"

"Louder! louder!" shouted the crowd; "let's see the little man. He's got a heap of wisdom inside that brass-bound coat of his! Who is he, anyhow? Tom Thumb! Daniel Lambert!" and so on, until the doctor grew quite bewildered.

An empty hogshead was brought forward and the doctor placed thereon, in order that he might be visible to his audience.

"Now go ahead!" they shouted; "don't be bashful; don't be afraid; nobody will hurt you!"

"If I had my pistols here I'd show you who's afraid," said the surgeon, whose dander was now up. At which the crowd gave him three cheers that made the welkin ring.

The doctor soon regained his composure, and commenced again, "Fellow-citizens! you see before you—" and suddenly the head of the hogshead gave way and the orator disappeared from view.

He was fished out mad as a hornet, while the crowd shouted: "Get another hogshead! lift him on your shoulders! let's hear all about the true Democratic principles," etc. But the doctor had seen enough of these wild cats, as he called them, and would not say another word. He mounted his mare and started for home, a sadder and wiser man than when he left it.

Just after he was fairly under way a large man on horseback, in the uniform of a colonel, overtook him and entered into conversation, and they jogged along quite pleasantly.

Pretty soon there was a clattering of horses' hoofs behind them, and they beheld the blood-and-thunder orator, mounted on a big roan horse, coming at a dead run and shouting like mad.

Both the mare and the colonel's horse pricked up their ears and became so restless that it required the utmost exertions of their riders to hold them. The orator, as he came up, gave the doctor's mare a sharp cut with his whip, singing out, "Come on, little man, let's see if you can ride as well as you can talk!"

The mare started as if shot from a gun, the colonel's horse started after the mare, and all three dashed off at a rate of speed that would have distanced John Gilpin.

Crowds of people were met along the road, all going to the Democratic meeting, and all drew out of the way to let the racers go by.

The doctor's trousers had worked up above his knees, displaying his red flannel drawers in all their beauty, and the wayfarers shouted lustily, "Go it, little red-legs!" "Go it, Colonel!" "Go it, Bully Bludger!"

Suddenly a bridge hove in sight which the soldiers were repairing. They had removed the planks from one side, leaving a narrow passage for travelers. The mare took the lead, never deviating from a straight course, and with a flying leap cleared the opening; but, alas! for the little doctor, he lost his seat and fell plump into the swamp! The other riders, more fortunate or more expert in the management of their steeds, kept the side road and went flying on after the mare, which, relieved of the weight of her rider, ran faster than ever, and reached the gangway of the Black Hawk covered with foam.

The doctor had eight miles to walk, his uniform was covered with mud, and altogether he was so battered that his friends would hardly have recognized him.

Next day I sent for him to come and dine with me, and he appeared, looking as neat as usual.

In the course of conversation I remarked, "How are politics getting along nowadays?"

The doctor looked at me suspiciously. "Well, sir," he replied, "I have come to the conclusion that politics in Egypt are a farce; they are whisky politics altogether. I haven't seen a man in this county who understands Democratic principles as laid down by Jefferson; in fact, I don't think they are understood anywhere outside of Maryland; but, sir, if you'll sell me that mare of yours I'll promise to give up politics altogether." Then the doctor told me the whole story of his escapade, for he couldn't keep anything from me to save his life.

DAVID D. PORTER, *Incidents and Anecdotes of the Civil War* (New York, 1885), 201-2; 205-8.

LEE COUNTY PIONEER LIFE

About one-half mile from Zachariah Melugin's my father built his house (of one room) of unhewed logs, as did all the settlers, the spaces between the logs were filled with small pieces of wood, then plastered over with mortar made of clay, the roof and floor boards were obtained by splitting trees. Shelves for dishes, etc., were made by boring holes in the logs, driving in long pins, and laying a board across the pins.

The fireplace warmed the room, and there the cooking was done; cooking utensils were very scarce, the bread was baked in iron kettles having iron covers, the kettle being placed in one side of the fireplace and completely covered with live coals and hot ashes, potatoes were also roasted in the ashes.

Gourds were used for baskets, basins, cups, dippers, soap dishes, etc. Hollow trees cut in suitable lengths were used for well curbs, bee hives, and for storing the vegetables and grain. Large trees were hollowed out into troughs and placed under the eaves to catch the rain water, in sugar making to hold the sap; small troughs were used to knead the bread in, and some of the babies slept in cradles made of troughs. Father made butter bowl, ladle, rolling pin, brooms and other articles of wood, for use in the house. All this was done by hand, and with rude implements; he also mended his harness, and was cobbler for his own family, keeping their shoes in repair.

Some families had no timepiece, they told the time during the day by the sun—had a noon mark in a door or window—at night by the position of the stars in the Great Dipper in the north. For want of looking glasses, when they wished to see how their hair was dressed, they looked in the well or watertrough. Some of the early settlers were very destitute—the children having but one dress apiece, made of unbleached muslin, colored with butternut bark—the mother washed and ironed their clothing while they were in bed.

Father's first house was one story and had but the one room, with fireplace in one end, door in the other, windows in opposite sides of the room. The windows were small, having but one sash each, containing six panes of glass. The fireplace was made of such rocks as they could pick up, filled in with mortar made of clay; the chimney was built from the ground up, on the outside of the house, and with sticks filled in and plastered over with mortar. The door was made of such boards as they could split from the trees, and was hung on wooden hinges, and had wooden latches—the hinges and latches were made with the pocket knife. The latch had at one end a string (I presume of buckskin) attached to it,

the other end passed through a hole in the door over the latch—when they wished to secure their house at night they pulled in the latchstring.

Father had a compass and when he built his house he placed it with the points of the compass, then at noon the sun shone straight in the door or window. In that way they obtained the "noon mark." Mother had several marks in the first house, to mark the different hours.

They made their own brooms by taking straight young hickory trees, perhaps three inches through, peeling off the bark, then with their pocket knives they commenced on the end of the stick they intended for the brush part and peeled the stick in narrow strips or splints about one-sixteenth of an inch thick, and fifteen to eighteen inches long. The heart of the stick would not peel and that was cut off, leaving a stick about three inches long in the center of these splints. The splints being dropped back over this stick, then they commenced on the handle end and stripped splints toward those already made, and long enough to cover them, when the stick was stripped small enough for the handle, the splints were all tied together around the stick left in the center of the splints first stripped, the remainder of the handle was then stripped to complete the handle.

They guarded their fire carefully, for they had no matches, and if their fire went out they had to kindle with flint and steel, or go to a neighbor and borrow fire.

Mother was better fitted for pioneer life than some of the settlers. She knew all about spinning, weaving, knitting, coloring, making sugar, butter, candles and soap, and the use of a fireplace for cooking, all of which were new to some of them. She spun, colored, wove, cut and made our woolen clothing and blankets, also her own linen for house use and garments for the family, and spun her linen thread for sewing. She often spoke of the hardships of others, but very seldom of her own.

AMELIA G. MCFARLAND, in: *Recollections of the Pioneers of Lee County* (1893), 185-86.

PRAIRIE TOURISTS

From Chicago, we made an excursion into the prairies. Our young lawyer-friend threw behind him the five hundred dollars per day which he was making, and went with us. I thought him wise; for there is that to be had in the wilderness which money cannot buy. We drove out of town at ten o'clock in the morning, too late by two hours; but it was impossible to overcome the introductions to strangers, and the bustle of our preparations, any sooner. Our party consisted of seven, besides the driver. Our vehicle was a wagon with four horses.

We had first to cross the prairie, nine miles wide, on the lake edge of which Chicago stands. This prairie is not usually wet so early in the year; but at this time the water stood up almost to the nave of the wheels: and we crossed it at a walking pace. I saw here, for the first time in the United States, the American primrose. It grew in profusion over the whole prairie, as far as I could see; not so large and fine as in English greenhouses, but graceful and pretty. I now found the truth of what I had read about the difficulty of distinguishing distances on a prairie. The feeling is quite bewildering. A man walking near looks like a goliath a mile off. I mistook a covered wagon without horses, at a distance of fifty yards, for a white house near the horizon: and so on.

We were not sorry to reach the belt of trees, which bounded the wamp we had passed. At a house here, where we stopped to water the horses, and eat dough nuts, we saw a crowd of emigrants; which showed that we had not yet reached the bounds of civilisation. A little further on we came to the river Aux Plaines,¹ spelled on a sign board "Oplain." The ferry here is a monopoly, and the public suffers accordingly. There is only one small flat boat for the service of the concourse of people now pouring into the prairies. Though we happened to arrive nearly the first of the crowd of today, we were detained on the bank above an hour; and then our horses went over at two crossings, and the wagon and ourselves at the third. It was a pretty scene, if we had not been in a hurry; the country wagons and teams in the wood by the side of the quiet clear river; and the oxen swimming over, yoked, with only their patient faces visible above the surface. After crossing, we proceeded briskly till we reached a single house, where, or nowhere, we were to dine. The kind hostess bestirred herself to provide us a good dinner of tea, bread, ham, potatoes, and strawberries, of which a whole pailful, ripe and sweet, had been gathered by the children in the grass round the house, within one hour. While dinner was preparing, we amused ourselves with looking over an excellent small collection of books, belonging to Miss Cynthia, the daughter of the hostess.

I never saw insulation, (not desolation,) to compare with the situation of a settler on a wide prairie. A single house in the middle of Salisbury Plain would be desolate. A single house on a prairie has clumps of trees near it, rich fields about it; and flowers, strawberries, and running water at hand. But when I saw a settler's child tripping out of home-bounds, I had a feeling that it would never get back again. It looked like putting out into Lake Michigan in a canoe. The soil round the dwellings

¹ Des Plaines River.

is very rich. It makes no dust, it is so entirely vegetable. It requires merely to be once turned over to produce largely; and, at present, it appears to be inexhaustible. As we proceeded, the scenery became more and more like what all travellers compare it to,—a boundless English park. The grass was wilder, the occasional footpath not so trim, and the single trees less majestic; but no park ever displayed anything equal to the grouping of the trees within the windings of the blue, brimming river Aux Plaines.

We had met with so many delays that we felt doubts about reaching the place where we had intended to spend the night. At sunset, we found ourselves still nine miles from Joliet; but we were told that the road was good except a small "slew" or two; and there was half a moon shining behind a thin veil of clouds; so we pushed on. We seemed latterly to be travelling on a terrace overlooking a wide champaign, where a dark waving line might indicate the winding of the river, between its clumpy banks. Our driver descended, and went forward, two or three times, to make sure of our road; and at length, we rattled down a steep descent and found ourselves among houses.

This was not our resting-place, however. The Joliet hotel lay on the other side of the river. We were directed to a foot-bridge by which we were to pass; and a ford below for the wagon. We strained our eyes in vain for the foot-bridge; and our gentlemen peeped and pryed about for some time. All was still but the rippling river, and everybody asleep in the houses that were scattered about. We ladies were presently summoned to put on our water-proof shoes, and alight. A man showed himself who had risen from his bed to help us in our need. The foot-bridge consisted, for some way, of two planks with a hand-rail on one side: but when we were about a third of the way over, one half of the planks, and the hand-rail, had disappeared. We actually had to cross the rushing deep river on a line of single planks, by dim moonlight, at past eleven o'clock at night. The great anxiety was about Charley²; but between his father and the guide, he managed very well. This guide would accept nothing but thanks. He "did not calculate to take any pay."

Then we waited some time for the wagon to come up from the ford. I suspected it had passed the spot where we stood, and had proceeded to the village, where we saw a twinkling light, now disappearing, and now re-appearing. It was so, and the driver came back to look for us, and tell us that the light we saw was a signal from the hotel-keeper, whom we found standing on his door-step, and sheltering his candle with his hand. We sat down and drank milk in the bar, while he went to consult with

² Charles Follen, son of Dr. Charles Follen.

his wife what was to be done with us, as every bed in the house was occupied. We, meanwhile, agreed that the time was now come for us to enjoy an adventure which we had often anticipated; sleeping in a barn. We had all declared ourselves anxious to sleep in a barn, if we could meet with one that was air-tight, and well-supplied with hay. Such a barn was actually on these premises. We were prevented, however, from all practising the freak by the prompt hospitality of our hostess. Before we knew what she was about, she had risen and dressed herself, put clean sheets on her own bed, and made up two others on the floor of the same room; so that the ladies and Charley were luxuriously accommodated. Two sleepy personages crawled downstairs to offer their beds to our gentlemen. Mr. L.³ and our Chicago friend, however, persisted in sleeping in the barn.

Next morning, we all gave a very gratifying report of our lodgings. When we made our acknowledgments to our hostess, she said she thought that people who could go to bed quietly every night ought to be ready to give up to tired travellers. Whenever she travels, I hope she will be treated as she treated us. She let us have breakfast as early as half-past five, the next morning, and gave Charley a bun at parting, lest he should be too hungry before we could dine.

HARRIET MARTINEAU, *Society in America* (1837), I: 355-61.

IT'S THE TRUTH—WITH PROOF

About 1815 a man named John Pond opened a clearing in what is now Indian Creek Township. In a few years he had neighbors, and the community was called the "Pond Settlement." One day in October Pond was called away from home to help some newcomer raise a cabin. He left his wife and two little boys at home, and was absent all day. On returning at night he found his wife killed and scalped in the cabin, and his two little boys scalped and lying in the corner made by the old-fashioned stick-and-mud chimney joining the cabin wall. All three were lying in pools of blood which had poured from their ghastly wounds. Pond lost no time in calling on his neighbors, and before midnight a pursuing party of vengeance was formed. It was learned that three Indians of the Peanke-shaw tribe had been skulking about the settlement; and as this tribe was then living out in the western part of the State, in the vicinity of the Okaw (Kaskaskia) River and Big Muddy Creek, the chase promised to be a long one.

³ Ellis Gray Loring.

Three men—Pond, Hosea Pearce and Trousdale—were the party of men who proposed to have retribution. They were well mounted while the Indians were on foot. From indications it appeared that the killing had been done in the morning; and as this pursuing party could not start until the following morning, the Indians had twenty hours start. The trail was found by noticing the disturbed condition of the wild pea-vines in the little prairie westward. With eager heart and piercing eye the men pushed forward. The woods in those days were open underneath, there being but little underbrush, and the pursuers soon reached the Okaw. On the prairies the grass grew high, and a fugitive could be easily followed through them.

Not, however, until the fourth day did the party discover a "fresh sign." The next morning at sunrise they found in the Okaw Bottom three Indians making their breakfast off a wild turkey. Each white man picked out his Indian, and fired at him. One of the guns missed fire; two Indians fell dead. They hunted for the other Indian all day, but failed to find him, as he made for the river and they lost his track. The white party, therefore, had to return to their homes with their vengeance but partially satisfied.

A few years later the white population around Mr. Pond became too dense for him, and he moved farther west. The incident of the massacre and the pursuit faded away from the memories of old settlers, amid the bustle of the in-coming civilization. But years afterward still, when one of the actors in the foregoing scene, Hosea Pearce, had become an old man, he, too, felt that the country was becoming too thickly settled for his comfort, and emigrated to Western Missouri, where lands were cheap, of which he could obtain a plenty for the "boys." One of Trousdale's sons was with him. These two were away from home one day, and at night stopped at the house of a middle-aged man, living on a fine and well-furnished farm. After supper, in the course of conversation, the host ascertained the county where Pearce formerly lived.

"Do you know any one in the Pond Settlement?" inquired the host.

"Why, that is right where I lived," replied Pearce.

"Did you ever know John Pond?"

"Yes, sir."

This started Pearce to talking, and [he] told all about Pond and the killing of his wife and boys, the pursuit, etc. Pearce was an interesting narrator, and he told the story as vividly as the facts would allow. Then the man said; "Well, stranger, I reckon that story is about as true as any you ever told." And as he said this he stepped to the high mantel-shelf on which stood a clock; this he opened and took out a little parcel wrap-

ped in whitish paper that showed the marks of age and much careful handling. While he was doing this Pearce was getting mad at the doubt thrown on his veracity by the words of the man, who, as he stood slowly opening the little parcel and noticing the change in Pearce's countenance, said: "Now don't get excited at what I said. I only meant it to prove what I am going to show you is true." By this time he had taken from the paper a little tuft of flaxen hair which seemed to be grown from a piece of skin the size of a dollar. As he held it up he said. "Here is the scalp of one of John Pond's boys"; and bowing down his head and parting the hair from the crown, revealing a shining bald scar, and placing his finger on the spot, he added, "and there is where it came from!"

Old Hosea had forgotten that while both boys had been scalped, only one was killed, although both were left for dead. He had forgotten, too, that among the trophies of the dead Indians the things most highly prized by Pond were his boys' scalps, which he recovered.

History of White County, Illinois (Chicago, 1883), 293-95.



EDUCATION

A man is well educated who has learnt what is useful to him in the condition of life in which he is to live. It is just as absurd to teach children what is useless to them, as a knowledge of optics would be to a man born blind. Dr. Franklin tells us of an Indian chief in Penn. to whom a society had made a proposition to educate Indian youths in college. "Brothers," said the chief, "we thank you for proposing to *educate* our papooses. You mean well, and wish to do us good, but

we think they had better stay with us. We can hunt and fish better than you and will teach them ourselves." Was not the Indian right? To a man who is destined to live as the indians do, the learning which the chief proposed is worth more than all that could be acquired in a college. (RECORDS OF THE ILLINOIS STATE LYCEUM—MSS IN THE JOHN RUSSELL COLLECTION, ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL LIBRARY. RUSSELL MAY HAVE WRITTEN THIS BUT THERE IS NO PROOF.)



BOOK REVIEWS

The Mystery of "A Public Man." By Frank Maloy Anderson. (University of Minnesota Press: Minneapolis, 1948. Pp. 256. \$3.75.)

Frank Maloy Anderson has at last established the authorship of *The Diary of a Public Man*. The publishers claim this work is a historical detective story. It is all of that and much more. *The Diary of a Public Man*, covering the secession winter of 1860-1861 was first published in the *North American Review* during 1879. The editor of the *Review*, Allen Thorndike Rice, stated that the author was "a public man intimately connected with the public movement of those dark and troubled times." Since its first publication the *Diary* has been heavily drawn upon by many scholars of the Civil War and particularly by those interested in Abraham Lincoln and the men who surrounded him. Within the last few years interest in the *Diary* has become so pronounced that two book editions of it have appeared. In neither of these was authorship determined. Anderson's work, which does establish authorship beyond reasonable doubt, is, therefore, a welcome volume.

Professor Anderson became interested in the *Diary* and in the unknown diarist in 1913. Since that time he has pursued the task of establishing authorship with tenacity and assiduity. No clue in the *Diary* and no guess of scholars who had worked on its authorship was too insignificant for him to examine. In this compact little volume he tells the full story. He sets forth the criteria by means of which authorship might be established from internal evidence. Then he applies these criteria to congressmen, senators, and public men of every description. He shows in turn why one after another of these men had to be rejected as authors of the *Diary*. Some readers will find the constant repetition of the criteria boring. The impatient will undoubtedly skip much that is in the early

chapters of this book. Such readers will lose thereby, for Professor Anderson not only lays bare his fine historical method but also inserts many superbly drawn vignettes of the public men considered and rejected and tells many amusing incidents of his quest. For both the layman and the student learning to investigate historical data these chapters are invaluable. If the work had no other merit it would be significant for this reason.

Inherent in the problem of authorship is, of course, the authenticity of the Public Man's observations as entries in a diary. Applying the criteria already used to establish or reject authorship, Professor Anderson, in three fine chapters, shows his reasons for rejecting the *Diary's* genuineness as well as why Sam Ward, king of the lobby, was the so-called diarist. His conclusion speaks for itself:

I am thoroughly convinced that the *Diary*, as published in the *North American Review* in 1879, is not what it purports to be. It is not a genuine diary actually kept in 1860-1861. It is, on the contrary, in part genuine and in part fictitious. It includes as a core a genuine diary, probably rather meager, actually kept by Sam Ward at Washington during the Secession Winter of 1860-1861. Attached to this genuine core there is a large amount of embellishment added at a later date. This added increment is in part recollection and in part pure invention. The genuine core, the recollection, and the invention have all been skillfully blended with a polished literary style.

This immediately raises the question: has the usefulness of *The Diary of a Public Man* been destroyed? As a diary, the answer is emphatically "yes." As the reminiscences of a clever and acute observer of public affairs who was incomparably witty and possessed of marked literary skill, the *Diary* will always be useful—for it reflects the spirit of the time and shows the matured observation concerning Mr. Lincoln and many other public men of a man who knew many of them intimately.

Illinois College.

JOE PATTERSON SMITH.

Lincoln and the Bible. By Clarence Edward Macartney. (Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, New York, 1949, Pp. 96. \$1.25.)

"If a public man were to quote the Bible today as frequently as Lincoln did in Civil War days, he would be charged with cant or hypocrisy," says Clarence Edward Macartney, the well-known Pittsburgh preacher in his little book, *Lincoln and the Bible*.

It is quite probable that a contemporary Bible-quoter would also find himself talking in riddles to most of the population since Biblical allusions are lost on the majority of American people.

But Lincoln could safely quote and be understood, and his seventy-seven quotations from or references to Scripture are taken from twenty-two of the thirty-six books, mostly from the Gospels.

That Honest Abe knew his Bible goes without argument. But what he thought of it and how sincerely he believed its message is a moot point. Macartney gives credence to the legend that Lincoln "was on his way to make a public confession of his faith in Christ when the assassin's bullet put an end to his probation." At the same time he indicates that the Martyr President never gave assent to the distinctive thing in the faith which, according to this author, makes one a Christian, "a consciousness of sin and a trust in the atoning and redeeming work of Christ on the cross." However, Macartney accepts Bateman's quotation from Lincoln as saying: "I know I am right because I know that liberty is right, for Christ teaches it, and Christ is God."

This little book of ninety some pages can be read in an hour. It is printed attractively, with wide margins next to the binding and paragraph guides in the margins.

Springfield.

RICHARD PAUL GRAEBEL.

Two Judges of Ottawa. By Wayne C. Townley. (Egypt Book House, Carbondale, Ill., 1948. Pp. 43.)

Wayne C. Townley, of Bloomington, president of the McLean County Historical Society, past president and present director of the Illinois State Historical Society, has written an unusual forty-three-page book entitled *Two Judges of Ottawa*. The jurists are Theophilus Lyle Dickey (1811-1885) and John Dean Caton (1812-1895).

In this unique volume the author has achieved a warm appeal to layman and professional alike. And he has incorporated a fascinating early history of Ottawa, Illinois, once known as Carbonia. His style has the charm of good fiction and his book fairly shouts the potentials of American opportunity, for both Dickey and Caton rose from poverty.

Judge Caton served on the Illinois Supreme Court from 1842 to 1864. Judge Dickey's tenure was from 1875 to 1885. Both served in the old Northern Grand Division and both were personal friends of Abraham Lincoln's, some of whose many Supreme Court appeals were heard by Judge Caton. In constitutional interpretation and the establishing of judicial precedent Caton served Illinois much as John Marshall did the nation.

Dickey was a native of Kentucky, Caton of New York. The former moved to Ottawa in 1839, the latter in 1842. Business acumen enabled

both men to amass substantial property holdings before they died, albeit reverses plagued them along the way. Caton's eventual industrial interests were especially extensive.

Two Judges of Ottawa treats engagingly of national connections and influences which stemmed from the Dickey, Caton, and related Ottawa families of a century ago. There are entertaining incidents which reveal the sturdy, rugged honesty and individualism of the two judges. The book is intensely interesting. The author paints enchanting word portraits throughout and leaves his reader possessed of a desire to go to Ottawa, visit surviving landmarks, and relive the period. The book would be profitable reading for every American.

Springfield.

EARLE BENJAMIN SEARCY.

The University of Wisconsin. A History, 1848-1925 (Volume One). By Merle Curti and Vernon Carstensen. (University of Wisconsin Press: Madison, 1949. Pp. xviii, 739. \$6.00.)

Two members of the history department of the University of Wisconsin have undertaken to produce the definitive history of their school. They have limited themselves to the period ending in 1925, thus wisely avoiding the difficult if not impossible task of dealing objectively with current issues and personalities on the Madison campus. This first volume, which brings the story down to 1903, is a work of notable scholarship for which the authors are to be congratulated. All students of the development of higher education in the United States are in their debt, particularly for the first chapter on "The Origins of the State University Idea." This chapter places state universities in proper relationship to higher education in general, and points out clearly the secular objective behind their founding.

The authors note that "the concept of the state university was more fully realized in the West during the half century after the Revolution" than in the East because of the rivalry of religious sects, with no one sect being in a dominant position. The importance of the grant of federal land in promoting state universities is demonstrated. Wisconsin was typical in this respect. The congressional authorization of two townships of land (over 46,000 acres) in 1838 supplied the financial basis for the establishment of the University of Wisconsin on July 26, 1848, as provided by the state constitution adopted that year.

In tracing the history of the school for its first fifty-five years the authors recount the troubles and triumphs of two chancellors and five presidents. President John Bascom (1874-1887) served longer than any

other, and is generally recognized as the pioneer of the "Wisconsin Idea" that a state university should accept the obligation to promote the well-being of the people of the state through assistance rendered by its experts to public administrators. Two chapters are devoted to Bascom, a liberal champion of social and economic justice, who was "a dominant influence in the intellectual life of the students" and was himself "an outstanding personality, and accomplished scholar." Paul A. Chadbourne (1867-1870), Thomas C. Chamberlin (1887-1892), and Charles Kendall Adams (1892-1902) also gave effective leadership to the university.

Historians and social scientists will appreciate the adequate recognition given to the outstanding social scientists who came to Madison, particularly Frederick Jackson Turner (1889-1910), American historian; Charles H. Haskins (1890-1902), medievalist; and Richard T. Ely (1892-1925), economist—all brought from Johns Hopkins by President Chamberlin. The importance of Professor Ely's School of Economics, Political Science and History (1892-1900) and Professor Turner's School of History (established 1900) in the development of research and graduate study in the field of the social sciences is emphasized.

In 1894, at a time of economic unrest and labor disputes, Professor Ely was accused by a member of the Board of Regents of being a dangerous radical. After an extended investigation the Board exonerated Ely, and adopted a forthright statement in behalf of academic freedom which is as timely in 1949 as it was in 1894. The authors fittingly dedicate the book to "that staunch Board of Regents" who held:

We cannot . . . believe that knowledge has reached its final goal, or that the present condition of society is perfect. . . . In all lines of academic investigation it is of the utmost importance that the investigator should be absolutely free to follow the indications of truth wherever they may lead. . . . we believe the great state University of Wisconsin should ever encourage that continual and fearless sifting and winnowing by which alone the truth can be found.

The second and final volume is awaited with anticipatory relish. If it maintains the high standard of the first the history of the University of Wisconsin will be recorded in a manner surpassed by no other school.

Eastern Illinois State College.

CHARLES H. COLEMAN.

The Earth is Ours. By Marion Pedersen Teal. (Thomas Y. Crowell Co. New York, 1948. Pp. 205. \$2.75.)

Here is a charmingly written book on Illinois farm life. Ray and Marion Teal had jobs in New York, one in an insurance company and the

other at Macy's. They also had a baby son, David, and 230 acres of Illinois farm land covered by a \$7,000 mortgage.

The jangling crowds in Times Square made the couple long for country stillness, a soft lawn, and chirping crickets. For some months after David's arrival the walls in their apartment kept closing in. Ray sharpened his pencil and figured the possible income on the farm. The prospect was not very good. The land had paid only the mortgage interest and a tenant's share in the past but Ray and Marion decided to return to the soil. Ray took with him an M. A. degree in agricultural economics while Marion took some morning-glory seeds.

Of course, Marion took much more than morning-glory seeds back to the old farm in 1941. She took courage, a sense of humor and an outstanding ability for writing. Lincoln enthusiasts will enjoy the memories of the Rail Splitter that the young couple found on a neighboring farm. The Teals also found a refreshing reference to Adlai Stevenson, the elder. Yes, this book is highly recommended as relaxation reading for those who know—or want to know—rural Illinois.

J. M.

Pioneer Railroad: The Story of the Chicago and North Western System. By Robert J. Casey and W. A. S. Douglas. (Whittlesey House: New York, 1948. Pp. 334. \$4.00.)

Books by Robert J. Casey and/or W. A. S. Douglas are coming off the presses at such a rapid rate that it is sometimes difficult for a quarterly magazine to keep up with them. And this one offers a further complication because the research was done by John Drury, who also has had two books published within the past year—*Old Illinois Houses* and *Midwest Heritage*.

Although the reader can almost pick out the parts each of the three has contributed this does not mean that their book is erratic or that some sections are better than others. The final writing was the work of one man, Douglas, and he has done his usual very competent job.

The founding and the early years of the North Western appear as the story of William Butler Ogden, first mayor of Chicago, which is as it should be. The idea of building a railroad to the farming country west and north of Chicago was his. But he had more than an idea, he had the perseverance to see his idea through. He financed his road by selling bonds to the farmers in its territory and he built only when he had the cash in hand to pay for the job. Thus his Galena and Chicago Union Rail Road grew and was able to absorb those little lines that had been built from

nowhere to nowhere whenever their promoters thought they saw an opportunity for a quick profit.

Into this story of the North Western's growing pains the authors have woven incidents and personalities that provide a contrast for the average reader. Besides Ogden the other great builder of the road was Marvin Hughitt, who was president from 1887 to 1910, during the system's period of greatest growth. And the North Western had its heroine, too. She was Kate Shelley, the fifteen-year-old girl who saved the Midnight Express when the Honey Creek (Iowa) bridge was washed out in a storm in 1881. Then there was the great capital fight in South Dakota, the development of gold mining, and President Coolidge's summer in the Black Hills. A slightly unfortunate note is the chapter on the great blizzard of 1888, which loses much of its impressiveness when compared with the winter of 1948-1949.

In keeping with the book's title the North Western has many pioneering "firsts" to its credit: first steel rails, first railway post-office service, first dining cars and sleeping cars west of Chicago, and first to operate by telegraph. Also, it has made many contributions to the development of railway safety and has established a notable safety record of its own.

But with all their painstaking research the authors do not solve the riddle that puzzles everyone the first time he rides the North Western: why do the trains run on the left-hand instead of the right-hand tracks like other American railroads? They are inclined to the theory that the whole thing was an accident—but still they admit there may be something to the British-influence school of thought. And there the matter rests.

H. F. R.

Adventure in Enterprise: The Story of Leaton Irwin and the Company He Founded
By Anna B. Grubb. (Irwin Paper Company: Quincy, Illinois
1947. Pp. 75.)

Although the author of this handsome little book is listed as Anna B. Grubb most of it is quoted from earlier writings of her subject, Leaton Irwin. She has added a minimum of her own writing to his autobiographical notes, letters, and speeches, and newspaper articles about him.

The book itself was published to celebrate the sixtieth anniversary in 1947, of the founding of the Irwin Paper Company in Quincy (it now has branches in Decatur and Peoria). This was two years after the death of Irwin. Although the paper company was his principal interest, Leaton Irwin was a versatile businessman. His other activities included the promotion of a hardware manufacturing business that later became the Acme Steel Company, starting a company that makes laboratory coats and rain

coats, organizing an air compressor manufacturing firm, and operating a three-branch automobile agency for a number of years.

Since it was intended as a souvenir or good-will gift the book answers its purpose. However, it will be of little value to anyone not acquainted with the subject or the "company he founded." H. F. R.

The Public Parks of Freeport, Illinois. Compiled and Edited by Mabel Goddard. (Freeport, 1948. Pp. 102. \$1.00.)

Those cities which are just beginning their park development programs could do worse than to adopt this volume as a guidebook. The editor has searched out the details of Freeport's parks from the very beginning and she gives each step along with the names of all the public-spirited citizens involved—also she outlines plans for the future. Her text is supplemented by more than thirty photographs, most of them scenic, but several are historical. Among the latter are pictures of Theodore Roosevelt addressing the Railway Men's Picnic on September 8, 1910, and the crowd of 50,000 who attended the unveiling of Freeport's statue of Lincoln. Incidentally, proceeds from the sale of the book will go to the Boy Scout and Girl Scout organizations, the cost of publication having been underwritten by Robert F. Koenig, park commissioner and former president of the park board. H. F. R.

Lincoln Raises an Army. By Don Russell. (The Civil War Round Table: Chicago, 1948. Pp. 15.)

Packed with names, dates, and numbers this little pamphlet tells a story that usually requires several volumes. Among the many handicaps that beset Lincoln at the outbreak of the War were these: (1) his own lack of a military background, (2) the fact that the Regular Army numbered only 16,376 men, (3) every company of infantry, dragoons, mounted riflemen, and cavalry was stationed west of the Mississippi River on January 1, 1861, (4) a large number of the officers had grown too old for service but had not retired, (5) many officers from the Southern states resigned, and (6) the law provided only three-months enlistments for the militia. These were not all but they give an idea of the enormity of the problem.

This will be a handy pamphlet for use as an introduction to the subject or as a quick reference. But anyone interested in Lincoln or the Civil War will also require a more pretentious work. H. F. R.

Sifting the Herndon Sources. By Louis A. Warren. (Lincoln Fellowship of Southern California, Los Angeles, 1948. Pp. 19 [4].)

On February 12, 1948, Dr. Louis A. Warren spoke before the Lincoln Fellowship of Southern California. This handsome brochure, with a foreword by Ralph G. Lindstrom, of Los Angeles, contains the printed version of his speech.

Dr. Warren painstakingly builds up his thesis that Herndon is an unreliable source of information about Lincoln. Herndon's faults and foibles are spread before us again. However, historians generally agree that with all his faults Herndon sincerely meant to tell the truth. That he did not, always, is a fact the reader must keep in mind.

No two people see another in the same light. The truth about Lincoln can never be told exactly. It was known only to Lincoln. But in approaching the true portrait we cannot ignore the impressions of one who was intimately acquainted with Lincoln for many years. The composite picture of the way he impressed Herndon and the way he impressed others who knew him, plus the facts about what he said and did, is as close as we can come to a true portrait of Lincoln.

It is well to sift the Herndon sources, and they must be appraised through a knowledge of Herndon, himself. Here David Donald has done Lincoln students a real service. His readable and scholarly *Lincoln's Herndon* will help to an understanding of this enigmatic personality.

S. A. W.

Constructive Government in Ohio. The Story of the Administration of Myers Y. Cooper. By Harvey Walker. (The Ohio History Press: Columbus, 1948. Pp. 249. \$3.00.)

In this second volume of the *Ohio Governors Series* Dr. Walker is concerned almost entirely with the two-year administration of Myers Y. Cooper, fifty-first governor of Ohio (1929-1930). Mr. Cooper had not held elective public office before becoming governor and his career since has not been particularly in the public eye.

Because of the economic depression, the achievements of Governor Cooper's administration have been obscured. It seems most unfortunate that his term came at the precise time that it did—to be swept out so soon by the depression. Governor Cooper is a businessman who wanted to run the state on sound business principles. He made definite progress in many departments under his jurisdiction. This book, the author states, "is an effort to make an objective appraisal of the accomplishments of one of the

most constructive periods in Ohio political history, one which reflects much credit upon those who labored in it."

The author, professor of political science at Ohio State University, is well qualified for his task. He was superintendent of the budget for the state during Cooper's administration. Budget reform was one of the Governor's constructive accomplishments.

Also during Cooper's administration the site was chosen for, and work begun on the handsome state office building in Columbus. The view of this structure and the beautiful civic center help compensate the east-bound driver on U. S. 40 for the exasperations of city traffic when traveling through Columbus.

Everett Walters wrote his biography of Joseph Benson Foraker (Vol. I of the *Ohio Governors Series*) in as detached a fashion as possible. Dr. Walker has doubtless tried to be objective. That he has not entirely succeeded is not surprising. As a part of the Cooper administration and a personal friend of the Governor's he knew what was being attempted and the opposition encountered. He could not remain neutral. But this does not detract from the book's value—rather it makes the volume a live text instead of a dead, theoretical study. The book should be of great value to political science classes in state government.

S. A. W.

I Walked With a Poet. By John Snigg. (The Vachel Lindsay Association, 1948? Pp. 4.)

It would be hard to imagine a more beautiful tribute to a friend than this brief and appealing account by John Snigg of his walks with Vachel Lindsay. Every Lindsay lover will want to read it, as should all who love beautiful writing. Although they are prose, these words of remembrance reveal the soul of a poet in John Snigg, himself.

Tramping the prairie roads around Springfield, the two companions talked, and many of these informal conversations John Snigg still holds in memory. One day in the autumn of 1931 after they had been strolling through Oak Ridge Cemetery in Springfield, Vachel said as they parted, "John, we shall walk again." But they never did.

A man who can write these beautiful lines in remembrance of one dead now these eighteen years has never really lost his friend. And, perhaps, in John Snigg, Vachel still walks the streets of his beloved Springfield.

S. A. W.

The Parish of the Holy Family, Cahokia, Illinois, 1699-1949. By Joseph P. Donnelly. (Cahokia Anniversary Association: East St. Louis, 1949. Pp. 62 [2] \$1.00.)

This year marks the 250th anniversary of the founding of Cahokia. The story of the 250-year old Parish of the Holy Family is practically synonymous with the history of the village. As Father Donnelly says in the foreword, "in the shadow of its church aborigines became Christians, Frenchmen became Americans, and Americans became Catholics. . . . The Parish has a really great story to tell."

The booklet is well documented for those who may care to enlarge their knowledge of the vicissitudes of Cahokia and the Illinois country. Only the high lights of the chronicle of the ancient parish are told. In fact, these alone are known. The long, intimate relations of the parish and its parishioners are familiar only to the souls of those whose lives were influenced by this little church.

A well rounded picture of Cahokia and its parish may be obtained from this booklet and from the articles by Charles E. Peterson, "Notes on Old Cahokia," which are appearing in the March, June, and September issues of this *Journal*.
S. A. W.

The Early History of Northern Illinois. By Charles Knapp Carpenter. (Published by the Ogle County Federation of Women's Clubs, Mount Morris, Ill., 1948. Pp. 144. \$1.50.)

This attractive little book seems often to stray pretty far from the history of northern Illinois. Section B, however, from page sixty-three to the end, confines itself to the area in question. This part deals chiefly with the Kellogg Trail, the Crane's Grove settlement, and Abraham Lincoln's appearance in Freeport. And the area of northern Illinois with which it is concerned is principally in Ogle and Stephenson counties.

Had it not been for Oliver W. Kellogg, John Phelps, Thomas Crane, and others who first made trails through the wilderness, the settlement of northern Illinois would be quite different. The author's ancestors were pioneers in this beautiful part of the state near Crane's Grove, and he, himself, lives there today.

Charles Knapp Carpenter writes well and has produced a very readable book. He is sincerely and justly concerned with the wanton destruction of our natural resources and with the "isms" that threaten our democratic way of life.
S. A. W.

John Reynolds, "The Old Ranger" of Illinois, 1788-1865. By Josephine Louise Harper. (An abstract of a thesis, Urbana, Ill., 1949. Pp. 20.)

The name of John Reynolds deserves to be better known to Illinoisans. Governor of the state (1830-1834), Representative in Congress from 1834 to 1837 and from 1839 to 1843, and twice elected to the General Assembly, he has not merited the obscurity that has befallen him.

Reynolds' principal misfortune was in being a sincere proslavery advocate. His outspoken remarks during the Civil War cast a shadow of disloyalty upon him, until death brought his release in May, 1865. Then his political opponents "dismissed him into obscurity."

Doubtless this abstract of a thesis, submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in history at the University of Illinois, is minus some of the color and life that one would expect to find in a portrayal of this unusual Illinoisan. At any rate, the sample makes the reader want to know more about John Reynolds, the individualist.

Miss Harper, who did her graduate work at the University of Illinois, has been, since January, 1948, Manuscript Librarian of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin at Madison.

S. A. W.





CAHOKIA AND THE SPRING TOUR

Old Cahokia, where the modern Midwest had its beginnings two and a half centuries ago, was the center of attraction for approximately 150 members of the Illinois State Historical Society and their guests on May 20 and 21. The occasion was the Society's annual Spring Tour which had been arranged to coincide with Cahokia's two-hundred and fiftieth anniversary celebration.

The Society's round of activities began Friday afternoon when early arrivals at the headquarters hotel, the Broadview, in East St. Louis were given a conducted tour, complete with police escort, to the Cahokia Mounds State Park. John F. Hogan, custodian of the park, acted as their guide and they inspected the archaeological museum and climbed to the top of Monks' Mound for a view of the American Bottoms.

The Spring Dinner in the grand ballroom of the Broadview on Friday evening opened the formal program. After the singing of "Illinois" Dr. Dwight F. Clark, of Evanston, president of the Illinois State Historical Society, introduced Mrs. William H. Matlack, of East St. Louis, president of the Cahokia 250th Anniversary Association, and Irving Dilliard, of Collinsville, past president of the Society and chairman of the Spring Tour Committee. John Francis McDermott, author of *Old Cahokia: A Narrative and Documents Illustrating the First Century of Its History*, gave a brief sketch of his book and Harold G. Baker, former United States District Attorney and speaker for the dinner, described East St. Louis and its past.

Immediately following the dinner the members attended a his-

historical pageant, "The Story of Cahokia." This colorful outdoor show began with a scene in a Cahokia Indian village in the autumn of 1698 and concluded with the arrival of George Rogers Clark in 1778. The coming of the Quebec missionaries in 1699, a village wedding, and eighteenth century singing and dancing were some of the high lights of the performance. Kiowa Indians from Oklahoma City and Boy Scout Indian dancers from the East St. Louis area added dash and color to the pageant, which was directed by Bernard Ferguson.

Early Saturday morning four chartered busses and several automobiles left the headquarters hotel for an all-day tour of historic points—Cahokia and on down the Mississippi River to Fort de Chartres, Prairie du Rocher, Kaskaskia, Menard, Chester, and back by way of Belleville. At Cahokia the group saw the famous courthouse, oldest building in the Midwest, inspected restoration work at the Holy Family Catholic Church, and some members even rang the old church bell, which was cast in 1776. Also, the nuns of the church opened the old Nicholas Jarrot mansion for the visitors.

At Prairie du Rocher and Fort de Chartres, Thomas Connor acted as guide. On going through the town he sounded his horn in front of each house over a hundred years old, and the party stopped to see the Abraham Lee mansion and the Old Creole House, and excellent example of French colonial architecture. At Fort de Chartres State Park, the location of what was once called "the most commodious and best built fort in North America," the members saw the old powder magazine, the reconstructed guardhouse and chapel, and the museum. At the park, also, they were the guests of Mr. Connor at a picnic luncheon served by members of the St. Joseph's Church at Prairie du Rocher.

In the afternoon the party proceeded to Kaskaskia State Park where State Historian J. Monaghan took over as the guide. He outlined the history of the old fort and town and contrasted the communities of Kaskaskia and Cahokia. Members also saw the Garrison Hill Cemetery and the near-by grave of Illinois' first Lieutenant Governor, Pierre Menard, on which a floral tribute was placed by Mary E. Moyer, a member of the Illinois State Historical Library staff. At the Menard home, which was constructed in 1802, they saw an unusually well preserved mansion, stone kitchen, and slave quarters.

On the return trip the party got a glimpse of the Southern Illinois State Penitentiary at Menard and the Shadrach Bond monument at Chester. The final stop of the outing was at the home of Governor John Reynolds at Belleville, where the fourth chief executive did much of the writing on the early history of Illinois, for which he is so well known.

The picture on the front cover of this issue is from the collection of the Chicago Historical Society and it shows Fort Dearborn as it appeared in 1820. Since Jean Baptiste Beaubien took up permanent residence near the Reservation in 1817 it is possible that the house to the south (left) of the Fort was one of his homes (see "The Beaubien Claim," page 147).

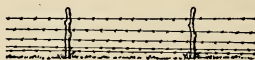


TRIBUTE TO LINCOLN, IN SPANISH

The Historical Library is indebted to Walter M. Provine, of Taylorville, for a "Tribute to Lincoln" by Raphael A. Sanchez. The library has both the printed copy of this address in Spanish, *Tributo a Lincoln*, and the original, typewritten manuscript copy signed by the author.

Raphael A. Sanchez delivered this speech on Lincoln in Santo Domingo, in April, 1946, before the House and Senate in joint session. It is doubtful if any other copies of this address exist in this country. Surely the typed and signed manuscript is unique. Mr. Provine received it from James C. Scarff, of South Charleston, Ohio, a long-time resident of the Dominican Republic, and personally acquainted with Mr. Sanchez.

Dr. Mary Watters, of the library's staff, has translated the manuscript into English.



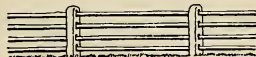
VANDALIA RESTORATION

The Department of Public Works and Buildings invites offerings for immediate cash purchase of authentic period office furniture and furnishings for the interior restoration of the Third State House, Vandalia, Illinois. Articles needed include: tables, desks, chairs, washstands, stoves and wood boxes, carpets, lamps, lighting fixtures, and writing materials for the period, 1836-1838. Address proposals to Department of Public Works and Buildings of the State of Illinois, C. Herrick Hammond, Supervising Architect, 160 North La Salle Street, Chicago, Illinois.



Once again Chicago is to have its Railroad Fair, from June 25 to October 2. A special attraction this year, according to Major Lenox R. Lohr, fair president, is an old Canadian railway coach, said to be the

oldest railway passenger coach in North America. The car was built in London and shipped to America in 1838. It will be used in this year's pageant, "Wheels-a-Rolling." Visitors may also ride in a cable car from San Francisco.



The formal opening of the Lincoln Room in the Carl Sandburg Cottage, Galesburg, was held on May 30. Jay Monaghan spoke as the official representative of Governor Adlai E. Stevenson. The ceremonies were to have been held on February 12, but inclement weather and the desire to have an outdoor ceremony postponed the event.

This room is the last one completed in the rebuilding of the cottage by the Carl Sandburg Association. It contains many treasured articles of the Lincoln era.



The St. Louis Historical Documents Foundation announces the publication of *Old Cahokia: A Narrative and Documents Illustrating the First Century of its History*. It is edited by John Francis McDermott, assisted by Joseph P. Donnelly, S. J., Rose Josephine Boylan, Brenda R. Giesecker, Charles van Ravenswaay, and Irving Dilliard. The book, of approximately 330 pages and ten illustrations, sells for \$3.00 paper bound, or \$4.50 cloth bound. Anyone wishing to obtain a copy should write to John Francis McDermott, 6345 Westminster Place, St. Louis 5, Missouri.



On February 12, 1849, a charter was granted to a group of Aurora citizens to build the Aurora Branch Railroad, a twelve-mile line, to connect with the Galena and Chicago Union. From that small beginning grew the present Burlington system which represents the amalgamation of over two hundred separate railroad companies. Based on the issuance its first charter, the Chicago Burlington & Quincy Railroad Company is one hundred years old this year.



A vigorous defense of the American way of life was made by Sercial Thompson at the Elizabethtown Woman's Club on February 15. Mr. Thompson, Harrisburg attorney, president of the Southern Illinois His-

torical Society, and a director of the Illinois State Historical Society, urged that Americans take pride in their country's history and in the rugged men and women who established this nation. Trends in the past two decades necessitate that we take a determined stand for democracy, he said. Mr. Thompson advocated the establishment of a historical society in every county to stimulate the interest of Americans in their history and forbears.



Harry Picknell, son of Mr. and Mrs. P. G. Picknell, of Decatur, writes of seeing Robert Sherwood's play *Abe Lincoln in Illinois* presented in Paris on Lincoln's birthday. Produced under the title of "If I Live" the play was a fitting recognition of the Emancipator's birthday. Mr. Picknell's letter to his parents is reproduced, in part, in the *Decatur Herald-Review* for February 20, 1949.



The Alton Area Historical Society, a branch of the Madison County Historical Society, heard Mrs. Frank J. Stobbs, in February, give the story of the Lincoln portrait that is owned by Shurtleff College. This picture, painted by Alban Jasper Conant, is also known as "the smiling Lincoln." It has had a checkered history. Paul B. Cousley spoke on Lincoln's associations with Alton and Alton people.

In March Miss Louise Travous talked on "Renewing the Youth of Our History," and Miss Ella Davis spoke on "The Alton Horticultural Society."



The Aurora Historical Society elected Vernon Derry to honorary membership in the Society in recognition of his photographic slides of the museum exhibits.

Clarence R. Smith, professor of physics at Aurora College and director of the Aurora Historical Society's Museum, was honored by the Cosmopolitan Club of Aurora in February. A public dinner was given in his honor, and the club presented Professor Smith its Distinguished Service Award for 1948. Clarence R. Smith identified and prepared for exhibit the mastodon bones found in Aurora's Phillips Park.

Officers of the Chicago Lawn Historical Society are: Richard O. Helwig, president; Mrs. Elmer H. Bowlby, vice-president; Mrs. F. J. Richards, honorary president; Mrs. B. J. Glidewell, treasurer; Miss Helga Nielsen, secretary-historian. Directors are: Mrs. Anna Kunkle, Howard Crane, Mrs. Charles N. King, Miss Marie Mortell, and Mrs. Leonard Kemp.



At a meeting in February of the South Shore (Chicago) Historical Society Joseph Miller and his barber shop quartet entertained the group. J. Wesley Blades presided.



Interesting exhibits have been featured at the Chicago Historical Society in recent months. In February the original letter of Abraham Lincoln to Major General Joseph Hooker was displayed. This letter was purchased by the present owner, Mr. Alfred W. Stern, for \$15,000, and through his courtesy it was publicly exhibited.

In commemoration of the Bowman Dairy Company's seventy-fifth anniversary there was a special dairy exhibit, showing, among other things, the evolution of the milk bottle and a history of the Holstein cow.

"Chicago in Pictures," a collection of seventy-four historic prints donated by the late Joseph T. Ryerson, was on display in the recently opened Chicago Room.

In April the Society had a special exhibit of four of the nation's historic events occurring in that month. They were George Washington's inauguration, Paul Revere's Ride, General Lee's surrender, and Lincoln's assassination.



Stage performers of years gone by attended the West Side (Chicago) Historical Society's March meeting. Songs of 1900 and talks on early moving picture theaters and stock companies were the special attractions on the program.



Miss Alice Bradshaw spoke on "Reminiscences of Old Vincennes" at the April meeting of the Edwards County Historical Society. She de-

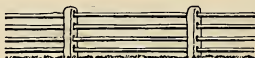
scribed the landmarks of Vincennes and gave sketches of those who played an important part in its history.

James F. Hardy presided over the business session at which the group voted to place membership in the Society at fifty cents a year to those of school age. Regular membership is \$1.00 a year.



Walter Burt Adams' oil painting of Fountain Square (before the old fountain was removed and the square modernized) is an addition to the Evanston Historical Society's collection of paintings of historical homes and landmarks. Mr. Adams presented his picture to the Society. Mrs. Henry B. Roney is curator of the museum.

Dr. Winston H. Tucker, Evanston commissioner of health, spoke on "Food Sanitation" at the Society's April meeting. Colored slides, posters, and pamphlets illustrated his lecture.



Denver McDonald read a paper on the life of Louis L. Emmerson at the March meeting of the Jefferson County Historical Society. Mrs. Edna Casey, president, presided at the meeting. Reports were given by Mildred Warren, secretary, and Frank Walker, treasurer.



Officers of the Kankakee County Historical Society are: Ralph Francis, president; Len H. Small, first vice-president; J. C. Bohmker, second vice-president; Mrs. Fannie Still, secretary and curator; Gilbert Hertz, treasurer. New members of the board of directors include: Herman Snow, Harold Simmons, Mrs. Harry Yeates, Mrs. Richard Ferris, Miss Dorothy Brown, Orson Burdick, and Mrs. W. M. Kimmelshue. Re-elected board members are: L. O. Minor, Edwin P. Bergeron, Will C. Schneider, Roy Wilcox, Mrs. C. M. Clay Buntain, and George W. Lane.

At the Society's February meeting old-fashioned songs were sung by a chorus from the Business and Professional Women's Club. Society members and friends were offered a preview of a new exhibit in the Historical and Arts Building. This was the McKee collection of historic scenes in Illinois and was lent by the Public Service Company of Northern Illinois. There was also a new display of local pictures and objects dealing with early life on the Kankakee River.

The speaker at the April 12 meeting of the Lake County Historical Society was the late Lloyd Lewis who talked on "Allan Pinkerton, the Great Detective." The meeting was held in Lois Durand Hall at Lake Forest College.

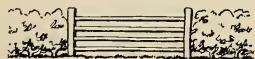


The Mattoon Historical Society held its annual spring dinner meeting in April. Dr. Robert Bell Browne was the speaker. His topic was "Lincoln and the Civil War Generals." Alex Summers is president of the group and had general charge of arrangements.

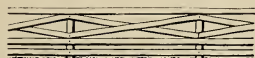


Officers of the Morgan County Historical Society are: Dr. Clarence P. McClelland, president; Frank J. Heintz, vice-president; Miss Elizabeth Brooks, treasurer; and Miss Fidelia N. Abbott, secretary. Directors, in addition to the officers, include: Miss Margaret Kay Moore, Dr. Alfred J. Henderson, Dr. John S. Wright, and the Rev. Arthur Ewert.

Rodney Howe Brandon spoke at the Society's April 26 dinner meeting in the Dunlap Hotel in Jacksonville. At this meeting the Society celebrated the one hundred and twenty-fourth birthday of Jacksonville and the centennial of the school for the blind. Winners in the Society's essay contest for high school students and seventh and eighth grade pupils were announced at this meeting. High school winners are: Joan Harber, first prize; Betty Jess, second prize; Merna Dickerson, honorable mention. Grade school winners are: Alice Mary Crabtree, first prize; David Olson, second prize; and Mary Whalin, honorable mention.



At the February meeting of the Oak Park Historical Society the Illinois Bell Telephone Company presented a program and film entitled "The Telephone Hour." J. C. Miller gave a history of telephone service in the village.



Dr. Reid T. Milner spoke to the Peoria Historical Society in February on "The First Ten Years at the Northern Regional Research Laboratory." He described the work of the laboratory and told of its contributions to the war effort, agriculture, and industry.

In March, Ernest E. East talked about the letters to Lincoln from Peorians which are included in the Robert Todd Lincoln collection in the Library of Congress. Harry T. Morgan also spoke about Dr. Robert Boal, of Lacon. Mr. Morgan owns two letters written by the Emancipator to Dr. Boal.

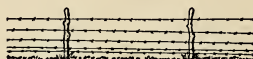
"The Life and Work of Robert Ingersoll" was the subject of George E. Johnson's speech before the Society in April.



The Riverside Historical Society at its February session heard J. C. Miller give his popular illustrated lecture on the Illinois and Michigan Canal.

Officers of the Society elected at this meeting are: Miss Josephine Sherman, president; Schofield B. Gross, vice-president; Dr. S. S. Fuller, treasurer; Mrs. E. H. Bangs, secretary; and Mrs. Frank H. Landon, Howard Olson, and Miss Margaret Blakely, directors.

A resolution was adopted at this meeting requesting the Riverside grade school board of education to name the new school on Leesley Road in honor of Flavilla Anne Forbes, first school teacher in the area now known as Riverside.



Representatives from the Rock Island County Historical Society met early this year with a committee from the Rock Island County Forest Preserve Commission to discuss plans for the construction of a Rock Island County Historical Museum. A subcommittee has been appointed to review the plan presented. Location of a site, administration, and legal aspects of the museum-library are among the topics for further consideration.



"Early American Music" was the theme of the February meeting of the Saline County Historical Society. John Schork of the Harrisburg Township High School had some of his choral students sing early American music.

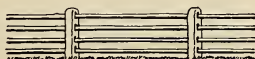
In March Mrs. John W. Towle spoke on "The Restoration of Williamsburg." The meetings were held in the Mitchell-Carnegie Library in Harrisburg.

The spring meeting of the Southern Illinois Historical Society was held in Harrisburg on April 29. Dr. Frank Lawrence Owsley, historian, author, and teacher was the principal speaker. His topic was "Folkways of the Old South." Scerial Thompson is president of the Society and at this meeting was re-elected. Other officers, all re-elected are: Norman W. Caldwell, first vice-president; Mrs. J. P. Schuh, second vice-president; W. S. Burkhart, Miss Emma Brickey, and L. O. Trigg, directors. C. C. Kerr was selected to replace Arthur F. Lee, who had resigned from the board of directors.

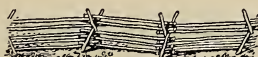


At the annual meeting of the Stephenson County Historical Society in April, A. L. Riche showed colored slides of an illuminated book made by the late Mrs. Frank N. Bass over a period of many years. As the pages of the volume were shown a recording made by Mrs. Thor Wesenberg told the story of this remarkable book which Mrs. Bass called "Songs of the Centuries." Mr. Riche also showed photographic slides of the Society's grounds and some of its museum's other prized possessions. Among others who spoke briefly at this meeting are: Mrs. Frank H. Redmer, Robert F. Koenig, J. R. Jackson, Mrs. Clyde H. Neyhart, and C. H. Bollinger.

New directors elected by the Society are: Mrs. J. Hewitt Rosentiel, Mrs. John M. Linden, John L. Held, and Harry M. Phillips. Directors re-elected are: Miss Mabel Goddard, Carl F. Ogden, Philip L. Keister, and Clyde C. Kaiser.

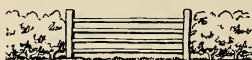


Officers of the Swedish Historical Society are: Alf O. Ahlstrand, president; Marvin O. Alden, first vice-president; Carl P. Sandstrom, second vice-president; and Herman G. Nelson, secretary-treasurer. New directors are: George M. Edblom and Mrs. Axel Eklund.



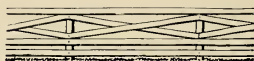
West Chicago will celebrate its one hundredth birthday this summer. A committee headed by Walter Fawell is planning the centennial. Frank F. Scobey is chairman of the historical committee.

The Wilmette Historical Commission, of which Horace Holley is chairman, plans to have an exhibit in the Wilmette Woman's Club on Sunday, September 18. This will consist of paintings, photographs, and historical objects loaned by residents of the village. The collection of paintings is under the direction of Mrs. Tracy E. Johntz, Harvey J. Steffens will conduct the photographic display, and the historical objects are under the supervision of Miss Frances Scheidenhelm.



The Winnetka Historical Society is trying to complete its collection of photographs of the village presidents. Only three are still needed. They are photographs of: James L. Miller, who served from 1875 to 1876; George Baker, from 1902 to 1903; and Edward C. Kohler, from 1906 to 1907. If you have one of these photographs please write to Mrs. Stella Winslow, Village Clerk, or to Frank A. Windes, 873 Spruce Street, Winnetka.

On March, 16 members of the Society heard Samuel S. Otis in an illustrated lecture on the restoration of New Salem. Both C. Herrick Hammond and Robert Kingery, who supervised the restoration, are Winnetka residents.



NEW MEMBERS

In the March issue of this *Journal* we printed a list of the 182 people who joined the Illinois State Historical Society in October, November, and December, 1948. Following are the 286 names of those enrolled during January, February, and March, 1949, an increase of 104 over the previous three months' period.

LIFE MEMBERS

Butterworth, Mrs. William.....Moline, Ill.	Stoddard, Dr. George D.....Urbana, Ill.
MacArthur, Alfred.....Chicago, Ill.	Williamson, George H.....Winnetka, Ill.

ANNUAL MEMBERS

Aaron, Mrs. Talitha E.....Eldorado, Ill.	Albee, Mrs. Deane.....Bloomington, Ill.
Abrahamson, Inga E.....Chicago, Ill.	Allen, Edward, Jr.....Park Ridge, Ill.
Ackert, Marion C.....Dixon, Ill.	Ammann, Mrs. Harry S.....Clarno, Wis.
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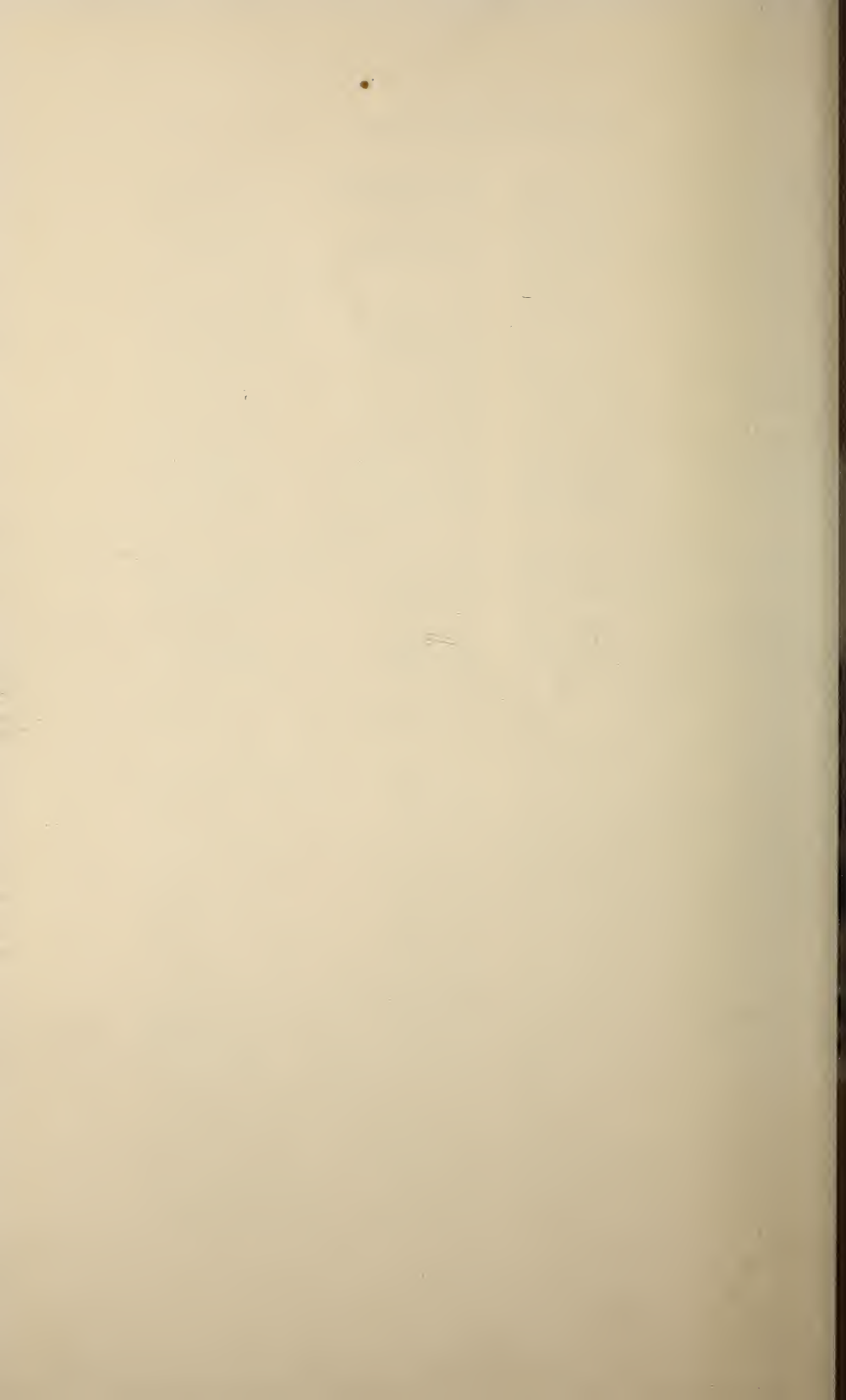
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1899—GOLDEN ANNIVERSARY YEAR—1949

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LINCOLN AND HIS SECRETARIES

When John G. Nicolay, (*left*), and John Hay posed with President Lincoln, on November 8, 1863, they were at the Gardner Gallery in Washington. For the print reproduced above Nicolay employed an artist to add as a suitable background the furnishings of the White House "Cabinet Room" with its mantel and oil painting of Andrew Jackson. Even the pattern of the carpet was changed.

THE WRITING OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN: A HISTORY

BY HELEN NICOLAY

MY father, John G. Nicolay, explained the difference between newspaper writing and writing a book in this way: "The writer of books is like a rifleman; he fires at long range with steady aim. The journalist resembles the sportsman who shoots his bird on the wing. The former bags the heaviest game but the latter counts the most scalps."¹

It is not strange that he considered himself first of all a newspaperman until he was well into middle age. Eight of the most formative years of his youth were spent in a small-town newspaper office where he filled every position in turn from printer's devil to that of editor and proprietor.² This was in Pittsfield, county seat of Pike County, Illinois, one of the towns to which Lincoln and other political leaders came to make speeches during the period of growing slavery agitation before the Civil War. After he sold the *Free Press* to study law, he acted as correspondent for St. Louis and Springfield journals. Again, after the Civil War, in the interval be-

¹ From a book on French journalism begun during his residence in Paris (1865-1869) but never published.

² *Pike County Free Press*.

Helen Nicolay, only daughter of Lincoln's private secretary and biographer, was born in Paris while her father was serving there as United States Consul General. In addition to The Boys' Life of Abraham Lincoln she has written about twenty books and numerous magazine articles. She now makes her home in Washington, D. C.

tween his return from France (1869) and his appointment as Marshal of the United States Supreme Court (1872), he wrote articles for the *New York Times*, and spent three heart-breaking months trying to lift the *Chicago Republican* out of the difficulties in which it was floundering. Time, however, has proved that he was not a newspaperman, but one of those literary riflemen who fire at long range with steady aim.

Foreordination is not at present a fashionable word. One respectable dictionary has dropped it entirely from its pages—but it is not so easy to drop the idea for which it stands definitely out of human life. In my father's case, for instance, an astonishing number of events seems to have been contrived especially to give him firsthand knowledge of the conditions under which Abraham Lincoln grew to maturity.

There were great differences, of course. My father was twenty-three years younger than Lincoln. He was not even born in the United States. But since there never was a more loyal American, or a more loyal son of Illinois, it is relatively unimportant that he happened to be born in Rhenish Bavaria's little village of Essingen, instead of on our western prairies. He was very young—only five—when his emigrant parents brought him by sailing ship to New Orleans, and from there made their slow way northward. It was in Illinois that he grew up. In Illinois that he met the greatest man of his epoch and entered on the most wonderful experience of his life. I believe he felt a warmer affection for Illinois than for any other spot in our broad land. I know he thought the fruitful Mississippi Valley to be the richest and most blessed of regions—the true garden spot of America.

From earliest childhood the physical surroundings of my father and Abraham Lincoln followed the same pattern. In the Illinois woods both grew up in what may be called the second phase of pioneer life—when the dangers and excitements of opening up the wilderness were over, but most of its hardships remained.

Each had about the same amount of schooling—little enough!—amounting to scarcely more than a year in all. Fortunately the schools my father attended were better, though he once told a group of young people that the formal part of his education ended with three months in a typical log school-house—the kind where a quilt was sometimes used in place of a door, and light from the small window made its way through oiled paper instead of glass. In the particular school my father attended the pupils had no slates or pencils or paper or pens or ink.

Both his parents having died, my father faced the world alone earlier than Lincoln did. Both Lincoln and Father had experiences in a country store. Lincoln, who was part owner of one, failed. My father was only a clerk, but his duties included everything from sweeping the floor to keeping the books in single entry, and so far as making a living was concerned, the result was about the same. Father's wages were so low that by the end of the second year he had managed to save only two silver dollars. During this store-keeping period and for years afterward both youngsters borrowed and diligently read every book that came their way.

Educationally the eight fruitful years in the *Free Press* office that followed for my father may be compared, in a general way, to Lincoln's years in New Salem. From the small town of New Salem, Lincoln passed on, successively, to larger opportunities and responsibilities in Vandalia and Springfield and Washington. My father's progress was from Pittsfield, a county seat, to Springfield, the state capital, and then, in company with Lincoln himself, to the capital of the nation.

Although occupying only minor positions in Springfield and Washington, he had in both these towns unusual opportunities to observe what went on, and to know the chief actors in the political drama. In Springfield he was chief clerk in the office of O. M. Hatch,³ secretary of state for Illinois. It

³ Ozias M. Hatch, secretary of state from 1857 to 1865.

was a pleasant office, before whose open fire Lincoln and other leaders often gathered for consultation. In Washington he was the President's private secretary, with all that that implied.

After the President's death my father spent four years in Paris, as American Consul General, an office to which he had been confirmed by the Senate before Mr. Lincoln's assassination. Upon his return to America it was impossible, because of ill health and other circumstances, to begin at once the book that he and John Hay had long ago determined to write. This was vexatious, but there were possibly compensating advantages in that it provided still more time for thought and evaluation. As for the years in France, they must have brought sharply to mind the contrast between two rulers: Lincoln, the great man without pretense, who led his country safely through a tremendous crisis, and Napoleon III, too small for the role he tried to play, under whom an empire was fast going to pieces.

The homing instinct carried my father back to Illinois. There he bought a little farm just outside the city limits of Springfield. This remained a cherished possession, though duties of office, and the need to consult government records while working on the Lincoln book, caused him to maintain a home in Washington for many years.

One of the first things he did after returning from France was to secure, from the proper Illinois court, proof of his citizenship. Probably it had not occurred to him before going abroad that this could be doubted; but four years in Europe convinced him that American citizenship was something very precious, to be surrounded with all possible safeguards.

His idea that he was a newspaperman gradually faded, but all his life he maintained that in the United States there was no career so independent and useful and generally satisfactory as that of editor of a newspaper in a "live" country town. Once, when a friend asked his help in securing a federal appointment in Washington, he answered:

With your knowledge of the world, of politics, and experience in newspaper work, why don't you look about you, choose a good location for a county paper, and build up a permanent independent business . . . where you can build up influence and consideration instead of coming to this or any other city to be one smart fellow among ten thousand other smart fellows, caged up in an 18 x 35 brick box, climbing up and down stairs like Sisyphus, breathing coal-gas by day and sewer-gas by night? Why toil to pay monthly rent bills . . . when you might swing your hammock under your own tree and milk a real cow instead of a pump? . . . There is more health, morality, prosperity, enjoyment, true comfort of life, and a better field of usefulness and opportunity for easy distinction in any flourishing country village in America having three to five thousand inhabitants than is possible in any great city.⁴

Meanwhile his conception of the book he wanted to write underwent great changes. He had first met Lincoln in Pittsfield, back in his editorial days. Strongly antislavery himself, he quickly recognized leadership and was one of the editors who signed the call for the Bloomington Convention of 1856 at which the Republican Party of Illinois formally came into being. He never forgot Lincoln's towering figure and inspired face on that occasion when he made his famous "Lost Speech." It was thus that my father remembered him, when asked, as he so often was, whether Lincoln "wasn't a very homely man?"

But he used to say that it was only in Springfield that he became really acquainted with Lincoln. Mr. Hatch's office adjoined the State Library, of which he also had charge. Here were kept records of state elections, of which Mr. Lincoln was an eager and very shrewd student, reading indications of victory or defeat in apparently insignificant figures. He had frequent occasion to consult such tables, and often asked my father to bring them to him. In this way their acquaintance grew. My father came to the conclusion that Lincoln had a very warm heart as well as an extraordinarily acute mind; and Mr. Lincoln, on his part, seemed to like the quiet young man with his slow, sad smile.

When the Republican Nominating Convention met in Chicago in May, 1860, my father was there to send the *Mis-*

⁴ John G. Nicolay to C. M. Walters, Apr. 2, 1881.

souri Democrat stirring accounts of crowds streaming through the streets toward the Wigwam, and of the scenes enacted within its wooden walls. Excited over Mr. Lincoln's nomination he hurried back to Springfield, cherishing the hope that he might be allowed to write the campaign "life" of the candidate which must be issued at once. This did not seem too extravagant a hope, since he was accustomed to writing, personally knew Mr. Lincoln, and believed heart and soul in the principles of the Republican Party. It was a bitter disappointment to learn that the commission to write the campaign "life" had already been given to another young man, at that time equally unknown to fame—an Ohioan named William D. Howells.

Father was habitually reticent, but this time disappointment was so overwhelming it had to seek relief in speech. He found himself telling Mr. Hatch about it in broken accents. Mr. Hatch looked at him with kindly eyes, then laid his hand on his arm and replied: "Never mind. You are to be private secretary."

I think that was the proudest moment of my father's life. He had never dreamed of such a thing, and to his dying day rejoiced that the position came to him, unsolicited by himself, or, so far as he knew, by anyone else, solely because of the acquaintanceship that had ripened in Mr. Hatch's office.

It was inevitable that more than one publisher would wish to print an "authoritative" life for use during the campaign. One of the first duties of the new secretary was to copy two autobiographical accounts that Mr. Lincoln wrote with his own hand. One was very short. The longer one, covering several manuscript pages, became the basis for Mr. Howells' book, which was speedily published, served its purpose, and was soon forgotten. When emissaries arrived from other publishers, they were politely received, but my father had to tell them that no information could be considered "exclusive," since it was Mr. Lincoln's wish that all should be treated alike

—an explanation that tended to prolong the memory of his own disappointment.

During the campaign he found himself making an occasional note, "just in case," for somehow he could not banish from his mind the idea of writing a Lincoln book himself. These notes were fragmentary—sometimes only hasty pen pictures of unimportant happenings, like the chance meeting one morning between Mr. Lincoln and a young stranger who asked to be directed to the Statehouse where the candidate held daily receptions. Mr. Lincoln said he was going there himself and would act as guide, but only revealed his identity when they entered the building. The fullest of these notes told about the visits to Springfield of Edward Bates, Lincoln's future attorney general.

Every day of my father's service in Washington increased his admiration of the President. Before the war was half over he knew that an ephemeral thing like a campaign biography was no longer possible. The book about Lincoln must be a serious work, giving an account of his administration as well as of his previous career. He talked the matter over with John Hay, who had come to Washington with Mr. Lincoln to be my father's assistant. John Hay was enthusiastic. The two agreed to write it together, and that it must be a history as well as a biography. They told Mr. Lincoln of their plan. He approved, and promised to help them. After this they tried to keep a more systematic record, but imperative daily duties sadly interfered.

Then came the tragedy of the President's death. My father was not in Washington at the time, but was on his way home from a short visit to Cuba with the Assistant Secretary of War. They had planned their return to reach Charleston in time to see Major General Robert Anderson raise the flag again over Fort Sumter that he had been obliged to lower in 1861. There was no telegraphic communication between Charleston and the North, and next morning their ship sailed

out of the harbor before the report of the assassination was received. So the shock was all the greater when the pilot brought them the news as he boarded the ship at Hampton Roads. Up to that moment it had seemed a time for unlimited rejoicing. My father wrote:

It was so unexpected, so sudden and so horrible to think of, much less to realize, that we *couldn't* believe it, and therefore remained in the hope that it would prove one of the thousand groundless exaggerations the war has brought forth Alas, when we reached Point Lookout at daylight next morning the mournful reports of the minute guns that were being fired and the flags at half-mast left us no ground for further hope. I went ashore with the boat to forward our telegrams, and there found a paper of Saturday giving all the painful details.

I am so overwhelmed by this catastrophe that I scarcely know what to think or to write my own faith in the future is unshaken but will the whole country remain as patient and as trusting as when it felt its interests safe in the hands of Mr. Lincoln?

It would seem that Providence has extracted from him the last and only additional service and sacrifice that he could have given his country—that of dying for her sake. Those of us who knew him will certainly interpret his death as a sign that Heaven deemed him worthy of martyrdom.⁵

In this first letter my father's chief concern had been for the welfare of the country: but to nobody outside of the President's immediate family did his death bring more poignant grief. Writing after the funeral in Washington his personal loss came uppermost: "Words seem so inadequate to describe my own personal sorrow at the loss of such a friend as the President has been to me I think I do not yet and probably shall not for a long while to come realize what a change his death has wrought in my personal relations."⁶

The whole fabric of his world seemed crumbling. He followed the only sane course possible at such a time—performed each obvious "next" duty as it presented itself, without trying to look too far into the future. After the President's body had been laid in Illinois soil, he and John Hay returned to Washington to gather up the President's papers and turn

⁵ John G. Nicolay to Therenia Bates, Apr. 17, 1865.

⁶ John G. Nicolay to Therenia Bates, Apr. 24, 1865.

their offices in the nation's capital over to their successors.

In June, 1865, my father went to Paris, where he remained four years. John Hay was also abroad during most of that time, filling diplomatic posts in France, Austria, and Spain. After both had returned to this country, further unavoidable delays occurred. It was not until 1872, after my father had become Marshal of the United States Supreme Court that he was able to begin a systematic examination of the Lincoln papers. In 1875 he sent John Hay what he called "a first installment of material." Almost from the moment of the President's death they had been besieged with questions and suggestions and offers to print whatever they chose to write; and nearly every such letter asked when their book would be ready for the press. For years they answered that they had every intention of writing a book about Lincoln, but that as yet it was not far enough advanced to warrant setting a date for publication.

Late in 1886 its first chapters appeared in *The Century Magazine*, which continued to publish installments for four years, about two-thirds of the work being printed first in this form. Nearly thirty years passed between the time my father hurried home from the Chicago nominating convention, excited and eager to write a little campaign biography, and the *History's* dignified final appearance as a completed work, in ten volumes, royal octavo, with two similar volumes of the President's writings still to follow.

A word about my father's habits of work may be of interest. His bent toward historical writing appears to have developed early, perhaps even during childhood in the Illinois woods, when he had few companions of his own age, and none of similar studious tastes. An old family Bible printed in crabbed German characters was one of the three or four books the immigrants brought with them across the Atlantic. He tells us that he used to read in this "for relaxation," his interest centering solely in the Old Testament and the Apocrypha

—especially the books of the Maccabees with their inspiring stories of courage and patriotism. From these he got the same enjoyment that he found later in tales of chivalry.

The first book that he planned to write himself was about early explorations in the Mississippi Valley. It was never written, but remained long in his mind. He made notes for it from books borrowed from the Pittsfield Library, copied maps in pen and pencil from records in Springfield, and in Paris made his own translations from French manuscripts. When he read the Bible "for relaxation" he was too young to be conscious of its beauties of style, or to note that those grand old writers whose work has withstood the centuries never gained their effects by piling up adjectives. But their example sank deep into his mind. If there was a short time in his newspaper career when he was lavish with adjectives, it was an indiscretion of early youth, soon over.

At the time the *History* was written he seemed to distrust them as beguiling and dangerous parts of speech. "Get out the adjective gun" was his humorous command when a chapter neared completion, and a deadly hunt would begin forthwith to decrease their number and, if possible, increase the effectiveness of the few allowed to remain.

Two very useful things that he learned in the printing office were patience and the importance of detail. That part of his *Free Press* training was over long before the influx of modern inventions to save time. In his day every individual letter of type had to be picked up as a separate bit of metal, turned about in the compositor's fingers until it was in the proper position, and then inserted in its place in a printer's stick. Incidentally, such typesetting gave wonderful training in the humbler essentials of spelling and punctuation. It had still another advantage, providing ample time for an agile-minded youth to consider the idea he was setting in type and accept or reject it as reason and conscience dictated. Thus it was training in logic and analysis as well as manual dexterity.

My father used to say a printing office was "a poor man's college," and in his case it amply proved so.

As private secretary his wide experience with visitors to the White House, most of whom came to ask "a small favor," made him a shrewd judge of men and motives; while the flood of "reminiscences" that poured in upon the authors of *Abraham Lincoln: A History* showed them how easily, with the lapse of years, mere wishing can turn into absolute certainty: in other words, that human memory, unsupported by written evidence, is not to be trusted. It gave them satisfaction to be able to say when their book was finished that not a statement in it had been made without written proof.

After my father entered upon his duties as Marshal he wrote to Robert Lincoln, who had promised him the custody of the Lincoln papers, that he now had exclusive control of a room in the basement of the Capitol in Washington that was safer than any bank vault in Chicago, and asked that they be sent on for his examination and classification:

I am satisfied that the task is in every way a longer and more perplexing one than either of us yet imagines. . . . I am also especially anxious—and I press this point particularly—that not a scrap of paper of any kind be destroyed. The merest memorandum, mark, signature or figure may have a future historical value which we cannot now arbitrarily determine, and the only good rule is to save everything. . . . It is of immense importance that all accessible material shall at the earliest possible moment be put into a permanent methodical and convenient arrangement for reference use. Your father's papers must necessarily form the nucleus. Around this it is my design to group such documentary collections (printed, or MS, original or copied as the case may admit) as the most diligent efforts on my part can bring together. To this end I propose to glean the files and records of the various departments of government . . . and as far as I can gain permission, the personal and private papers of the various cabinet officers, subordinate civil and leading army and navy officers whose careers gave them official prominence or personal intimacy in your father's administration.

I do not flatter myself that this is a trifling work. But I know that no one has equal advantages with myself for doing it. . . . There are in this city every winter during sessions of Congress from one to two hundred individuals from whom secondary or relative information on individual points or incidents may be obtained. Many of them are growing old, and in the course

of Nature will not reappear here many winters. As examples I mention Cameron, Blair, Sumner, Wade, Wilson and others, the list of whom is too long for this letter. Whenever I can begin the study of special points I can go to these men for special papers or reminiscences, but it is not of the least earthly use to go to them until I have a definite inquiry to present.⁷

This he wrote at the beginning of his task. Almost a decade later he wrote to Mrs. James A. Garfield:

Seeing in the newspapers a few days ago a letter from yourself to Col. Rockwell relating to the preservation and care of President Garfield's speeches, letters and papers, emboldens me to offer a few suggestions which are prompted by my own experience in the care and handling of the papers of President Lincoln.

My urgent advice to you is, not only that your husband's papers should be carefully preserved, but that you should at an early period institute some methodical and systematic examination and arrangement. . . . Only those who have undertaken similar labors have the remotest conception how painfully tedious and difficult it is to examine and prepare such material for the biographer's or historian's use. Hurry in such a task is utterly impossible, and one mind must practically accomplish the greater part if not the whole, in order that unity may be preserved. Every document, leaf and scrap must be deliberately scrutinized to ascertain its date, relation and historical value. . . .

Not only this, but concurrently newspapers and public documents must be searched, persons must be written to, to find explanations and supply omissions. For greater success and most perfect gleaning the present and contemporary period is in my judgment the most favorable. . . . Much will be lost by delay. . . .

All this does not touch the matter of writing the General's biography. You can choose your own time for that. I speak merely of the preliminary work. . . . You are yourself best competent to select someone of the General's confidential friends who is intelligent, discriminating and thoroughly loyal to your husband's memory. In addition he ought to be familiar with his personal history, his temper and habits of thought, his methods of labor and study, and if possible, familiar with the papers and materials themselves. In such a task personal knowledge is of infinitely more value than mere literary ability or experience.⁸

How my father and John Hay divided the writing of *Abraham Lincoln: A History* between them was a secret they would never tell. They seemed to take a mischievous pleasure in evading the question, saying they were coauthors, and that

⁷ John G. Nicolay to Robert Todd Lincoln, Apr. 1874.

⁸ John G. Nicolay to Mrs. James A. Garfield, Oct. 1881.

was all the public need know. Still respecting their wishes, it may now be said that they really had no settled plan about it. Each chose the period or incident about which he felt at the moment ready to write. Sometimes this resulted in their writing alternate chapters; sometimes one wrote continuously nearly a whole volume. After a chapter was written it passed many times between their two homes for criticism and correction and revision. No work by two authors could be more thoroughly a work of collaboration. I fancy that in the mere matter of proofreading few have received the same care. I know that the proof was painstakingly read nine times in my father's study—three times in galley, three times in page proof, and three more after the pages had been cast, all this in addition to the readings Mr. Hay gave it, and the care lavished on it by the publishers.

My father's was the "one mind" that did the greater part of arranging the Lincoln papers and searching out other material, John Hay being busy with editorship during earlier years of their literary partnership, and later holding the offices of Ambassador to Great Britain, and Secretary of State under Presidents McKinley and Theodore Roosevelt.

While *Abraham Lincoln: A History* and *Abraham Lincoln: Complete Works* are the only books on which their names appeared on the title pages as coauthors, they continued to feel the same interest and responsibility about the Lincoln papers entrusted to their care.



JOHN RUSSELL OF BLUFFDALE

BY JOHN T. FLANAGAN

IN a gazetteer of 1837 the community of Bluffdale in Greene County, Illinois, was pictured in the following words:

Bluffdale is a flourishing settlement, ten miles west of Carrollton, and under the bluffs that overhang the Illinois bottom. The land is rich, dry, and beautifully situated for six miles in extent, under overhanging bluffs and precipices from which springs of "crystal waters" gush forth. The settlement is generally arranged along the bluffs from Apple creek to the Macoupin, from three to four miles from the Illinois river, and consists of fifty or sixty families. The settlement of Bluffdale has two stores, one grocery, one tavern, one minister of the gospel, and a Baptist congregation, one post-office, one school, and various mechanics.¹

Captain Gideon Spencer had originally begun the settlement in 1821, but it was Vermont-born John Russell who really chose the site of the town and sponsored its growth. In 1832 Russell could call his hamlet "a union of all that is peculiar and striking in the Western landscape."² Land was cheap and husbandry easy; a newcoming Baptist preacher might not get monetary payment for ministerial services, but he could count upon twelve dollars a month and board for four months as his emolument for teaching.

¹ *Illinois in 1837* (Philadelphia, 1837), 79.

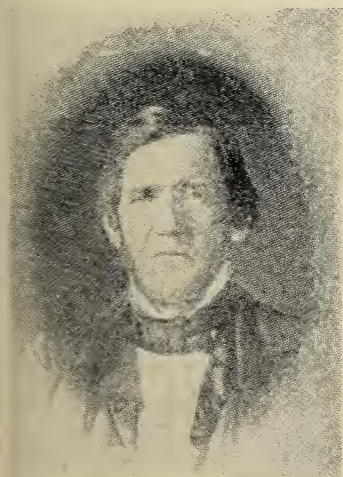
² John Russell, "Bluffdale," *Illinois Monthly Magazine* (Feb. 1932), II:207.

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One hundred years later the name of Bluffdale had disappeared from the topographical map of Greene County, although the name of Russell still appeared among the list of freeholders. But the pleasant rural charm of the region still remained, and John Russell of Bluffdale, obscure as he had become,³ was still remembered by occasional readers of old periodicals. For Russell, once the intimate and valued friend

of James Hall, of John Reynolds, of John Mason Peck, once known as preacher, educator, and correspondent, was an important figure in the mid-nineteenth-century Illinois Valley.

Like so many of the early cultural leaders of the Midwest, John Russell was a New Englander. He was born in 1793, the son of a Baptist preacher, staunchly Calvinist in principle and rather impecunious in fact. The people around Cavendish, Vermont, were farmers who did not look kindly on a bookish education, and young



JOHN RUSSELL

Russell got little encouragement when he expressed his intention of going to college. By devoting himself sporadically to book binding, writing, and schoolteaching at Vergennes, where he met his future wife, the boy paid his own expenses for two years at Middlebury College; and in his last two years he was aided financially by William Slade, later governor of Vermont. In 1812 Russell, although still under twenty, published at Windsor *An Authentic History of the Vermont State Prison*, a piece of hack work the sale of the copyright of which brought him a little cash. Following his graduation from Middlebury

³ In a footnote in his edition of Daniel Harmon Brush's *Growing Up With Southern Illinois, 1820 to 1861* (Chicago, 1944), 122, Milo Milton Quaife remarked that of John Russell, preacher and editor, "we have learned nothing."

in 1818 Russell taught school briefly in Georgia, but when he found his abolitionist sympathies clashing with the proslavery views of his associates he left the state and joined his family in Indiana, where they had temporarily stopped in their migration westward. At Whitewater, Indiana, he married his youthful sweetheart, Laura Ann Spencer.⁴

From 1819 to 1825 Russell served as tutor to the sons of Justus Post at \$500 per annum in Bonhommie Bottom, Missouri. Then followed a period of schoolteaching, at St. Louis, at the high school in Vandalia, and in the seminary at Upper Alton, subsequently Shurtleff College. John Mason Peck had been instrumental in organizing Rock Spring Seminary in 1827, of which the Rev. Joshua Bradley was the first principal. When Bradley resigned after a year of service Russell succeeded him, and later Russell was temporary principal at the Upper Alton school during the absence of the Rev. Hubbell Loomis.⁵ Russell's connection with Shurtleff College was not of long duration officially, but his interest in the institution is apparent from his many references to it and from his occasional performances there as commencement orator.

For many years, however, Bluffdale and John Russell were almost synonymous, and it is notable that Russell frequently used "Bluffdale" as a pseudonym. His residence in the Illinois Valley community began in 1828. He was appointed the local postmaster on October 9, 1829, a post which he and his son, Spencer G. Russell, held almost continuously for seventy years. But in Bluffdale he was also farmer, Sunday school teacher, minister, educator, and writer. Daniel Brush remembered

⁴ There is no sketch of John Russell in the *Dictionary of American Biography* and he is not mentioned in *Illinois, A Descriptive and Historical Guide*. Spencer G. Russell wrote a biographical sketch of his father in the *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society, for the Year 1901* (Springfield, 1901), 103-7. Material on Russell also appears in Newton Bateman, *Historical Encyclopedia of Illinois with Commemorative Biographies* (Chicago, 1926); in John Leonard Conger, *History of the Illinois River Valley* (Chicago, 1932); in *History of Greene County, Illinois* (Chicago, 1879); in *History of Greene and Jersey Counties, Illinois* (Springfield, 1885); in John Moses, *Illinois, Historical and Statistical* (Chicago, 1895).

⁵ Austen Kennedy de Blois, *The Pioneer School* (Chicago, 1900), pp. 29, 35, 42, 55; *Jubilee Memorial of Shurtleff College, Upper Alton, Ill.* (Alton, 1877), pp. 3-4, 12.

years afterward how Russell had obliged his Sunday school pupils to memorize verses of the New Testament and how he had awarded certificates, duly signed and dated, to those scholars who could recite accurately some three or four hundred lines.⁶ Russell was licensed as a Baptist minister at Bluffdale on February 6, 1833, and was prominent in religious circles, but he rarely preached. In 1837 and 1838 he edited the *Backwoodsman* at Grafton, the first newspaper published in Greene County; but even while laboring on this weekly periodical he maintained his residence at Bluffdale and thought nothing of long horseback rides if he could enjoy his weekends at home.⁷ In 1849 and 1850 he returned briefly to school-teaching and conducted the academy at Carrollton, some miles east of Bluffdale.

There was no literary or cultural movement of the time in the state with which John Russell did not concern himself, abortive as such activity often proved to be. He was active in the first Illinois state historical society, which James Hall was instrumental in organizing at Vandalia in 1827, and for several years he did more than his share in promoting the Illinois State Lyceum. Complete records of the lyceum are lacking, but from its inception at Vandalia, December 8, 1831, to 1833, Russell was closely connected with it.

At the Vandalia meeting the Rev. William K. Stewart was appointed chairman and James Hall was named secretary. The Rev. Julian M. Sturtevant, the Rev. Thomas Lippincott, James Hall, and John Russell were nominated as a committee to prepare a constitution for the lyceum. The same group with the addition of John Mason Peck formed a membership committee and chose fifteen members, among them Henry Eddy, Edward Coles, Sidney Breese, and Edward Beecher, then the president of Illinois College. The first slate of officers included Beecher as president, James Hall and Edward Coles as vice-

⁶ Brush, *Southern Illinois*, Quaife, ed., 43.

⁷ Oscar B. Hamilton, ed., *History of Jersey County, Illinois* (Chicago, 1919), 250.

presidents, John Russell as secretary, and Maro Reed as librarian. Annual meetings were to take place at Jacksonville and membership was not to exceed twenty-five. The purpose of the lyceum, it might be remarked, was almost identical with the expressed purpose of the state historical society: to disseminate knowledge, record history, collect fossils and relics, secure information about minerals, agriculture, flora and fauna, topography, navigation, soils, and climate, and in general to gather and preserve all data relative to the country and its inhabitants.⁸

A meeting was held at Illinois College on August 14, 1832, and the regular meeting took place at the Jacksonville Presbyterian church two days later. Papers were presented, and the group voted to demand a contribution from each member annually as a condition of membership. There is no evidence that John Russell abided by this rule, but a paper by John Mason Peck on early settlement in Illinois was so well received that it was subsequently published in the *Illinois Monthly Magazine*. The August 15, 1833, meeting at Jacksonville was postponed because of the incidence of spasmodic cholera, but the adjourned meeting was held October 3, and the original officers were apparently renamed. Edward Beecher addressed the group on common school education, and Sturtevant spoke on education in Illinois. The extant records in the handwriting of John Russell include a complete list of the members elected at Vandalia and at Jacksonville, and indicate that another annual meeting was scheduled for August, 1834, at Jacksonville. There is little further evidence about the progress of the Illinois State Lyceum or about John Russell's share in it, but it is obvious that for several years Russell as the duly elected secretary, played a conspicuous role in publicizing the work of the lyceum and in arranging the program.

Little is known of Russell's activities outside Illinois, but

⁸ MS records of the Illinois State Lyceum in the Illinois State Historical Library.

there is evidence that he twice left his Bluffdale home for extended residence elsewhere. In 1841 and 1842 he edited the *Louisville Advertiser*, a paper founded in 1818 by Shadrach Penn. And for a fairly long span of time—his son claimed eight years—he served as principal of the Spring Hill Academy and superintendent of schools in East Feliciana Parish, Louisiana. The closing years of his life were spent at Bluffdale, where his accomplishments in mathematics and languages were highly esteemed and where he could utilize his rather extensive private library. In 1862 the University of Chicago conferred upon him the honorary LL. D. degree. Russell died in 1863 and was buried in Bluffdale, the community which he had done so much to build and preserve in the eyes of the public.⁹

Spencer G. Russell in his biographical sketch of his father emphasized John Russell's piety, gentleness, generosity to others, and conspicuous failure to enrich himself when others were in want.¹⁰ Thomas Ford in his history of Illinois spoke of him as "a man of genius and a fine writer,"¹¹ and John Moses termed him "perhaps the most graceful and scholarly writer of this period in the Prairie State."¹² To Daniel Brush, a Bluffdale boy at the time, Russell was kindhearted, studious, painstaking, a man who was a great lover of learning but was never too busy to show his students the treasures of his library. Probably the most detailed eulogy accorded Russell by one of his contemporaries is that of John Reynolds. Reynolds knew Russell well and once proposed to him that they should co-operate on a history of the Black Hawk War, Reynolds to furnish documents, Russell to do the writing. There is also evidence that Russell wrote the opening chapters of Reynolds'

⁹ There is an unsubstantiated story to the effect that John Russell once entertained Charles Dickens at his Greene County home when the English novelist was visiting the St. Louis area in 1842. John Drury has printed an interesting picture of the Russell dwelling in his *Old Illinois Houses* (Springfield, 1949), 43.

¹⁰ *Trans. Ill. State Hist. Soc.* 1901, p. 106.

¹¹ Thomas Ford, *A History of Illinois* (Chicago, 1854), 231.

¹² Moses, *Illinois*, 1:392.

volume *My Life and Times*.¹³ The ex-governor of Illinois described Russell in the following words:

He has devoted his life to study, and now stands in the front rank of science and literature. Nature bestowed on him a mind capacious and strong, and his labors have achieved much celebrity. He has bestowed much of his time and talent on the study of the languages, and is a scholar not only in the dead languages but also in the modern tongues. He understands the French and German languages almost as well as he does the English, but I think he excels in his chaste, beautiful, and elegant composition. His style is smooth, classic, and polished, and his composition flows on in such harmony and elegance that it often reaches the elevated region of poetry.¹⁴

Every writer who has alluded to Russell at all has commented on his long career as a writer for periodicals, ranging from the *Western Monthly Magazine* to the *Alton Courier*. Most of these fugitive contributions, buried in obscure periodicals, are beyond recovery, a circumstance which, because of their nature, is not particularly regrettable.¹⁵ But others such as occasional commencement addresses which reveal Russell's philosophy and his stories or tales of western life are much more significant. Indeed the chief reason for striving to exhume the once considerable fame of John Russell is his ability to capture the spirit and color of the life he knew. Since Russell's scattered sketches were never collected in book form, one feels justified in discussing representative items individually.

In the days when any western imprint was something of a rarity, commencement addresses were more common than some other forms of literature. And several of Russell's orations before graduating classes deserve notice. On July 29, 1840, Russell delivered the annual commencement address

¹³ Letter from William M. Russell (grandson of John Russell) to Mrs. Jessie Palmer Weber, January 26, 1926, in the possession of the Illinois State Historical Library. The Library also has letters from John Reynolds to Russell, dated December 10, 1833, March 24, 1834, and April 19, 1834, in which Reynolds discusses the proposed history of the Black Hawk War.

¹⁴ John Reynolds, *My Own Times* (Chicago, 1879), 278.

¹⁵ It is quite possible that Russell contributed to the following denominational periodicals, complete files of which are difficult to find: *Baptist Tract and Youth's Magazine*, Philadelphia, 1827-1835; *Western Baptist Review*, Frankfort and Louisville, 1845-1851; *Northwestern Baptist*, Chicago, 1842-1844; *Baptist Monthly*, Jacksonville, 1860-1861.

at Shurtleff College, speaking to the graduating class on the claims of education. Characteristically he developed the thesis that every human being has a right to be educated, "an inherent, an indefeasible, an inalienable claim upon his country to an education that will qualify him to discharge, *ably* discharge, the high and important duties that will devolve upon him as a citizen of the world, and an heir of immortality."¹⁶ He analyzed the Prussian system of education and asserted its superiority despite the military despotism in which the country was enmeshed; in comparison the American system seemed to Russell slipshod and imperfect, although he thought that Illinois was ahead of most states in educational progress. He praised New England and the educational heritage of the Puritans, and made specific recommendations about the construction of suitable school buildings and the employment of qualified teachers. The classics as always won his support, and after warning the Shurtleff students against the avid pursuit of wealth he observed that *superficialness and excitement* had become the prominent traits in the character of the times.¹⁷

Some twelve years later, on June 24, 1852, Russell delivered another commencement address at Shurtleff. Beginning rather floridly by comparing the graduating seniors starting their human pilgrimage to the Arab pilgrim crossing the Sahara Desert, he spoke about the marvelous advantages accruing from the printing press and asserted that, despite the spread of knowledge, the United States was the only country on the globe where man could enjoy all the inalienable rights of his nature. Why, he asked his young auditors, do so many of the capable and even the trained fail to achieve? And his answer was that they lacked a single purpose to which they could devote every ounce of their energy. Developing this thesis further, he remarked that John Jacob Astor created his fur empire, John Howard won fame as a philanthropist,

¹⁶ John Russell, *The Claims of Education: an Address Delivered at Shurtleff College on the Evening of Commencement* (Alton, 1840), 3.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 7.

Peter the Hermit fired western civilization to begin the Crusades, and even the Jesuits built up their militant and far-reaching world order because of indomitable prosecution of one single aim. Thus his exordium took on force as he charged his audience with these words:

Commence your career of active life with some well-defined object before you, some purpose worthy of attainment. Bend all your powers and faculties to its accomplishment, and with the blessing of God, you *cannot fail of success*. The field of active and honorable exertion that lies stretched out before you is *boundless*.¹⁸

Even in 1852 such gospel in America was no novelty, but not many commencement orators enunciated the creed so persuasively or so effectively.

Russell gave a third commencement address to the members of the Philosophian Literary Society of McKendree College on July 5, 1854. This time his theme was the need for real education and the dignity of honest toil. He began by celebrating the opulence and magnitude of the nation, and then introduced the topic of education. He did not define an educated man as one who merely owned a college diploma. "I consider that individual an educated man," he said, "whose mind has been thoroughly trained and disciplined, by whatever process it may have been effected, even though he may have availed himself of the resources of the English language, *only*."¹⁹ The classic languages and mathematics were useful tools, he asserted, but real power was exerted by the man who could write and speak the English language with force and elegance. Then he shifted his attention to social classes and spoke with scorn of an American or a republican aristocracy. The true nobility, he thought, the real sovereigns, were to be found among farmers and artisans, men of strength and industry and perseverance. Cast your lot with the people, he

¹⁸ John Russell, *An Address, Delivered Before the Alpha Zeta Society of Shurtleff College* (Alton, 1852), 22. For this and other pamphlets by John Russell, I am indebted to Mr. Franklin J. Meine of Chicago, whose private library is rich in such material.

¹⁹ John Russell, *Belong to the People. The Fifth Annual Address, Delivered Before the Philosophian Literary Society of McKendree College* (St. Louis, 1854), 5.

told his audience, if you would be truly happy and useful. Be skeptical of mere wealth or empty honor. Preserve the heritage of liberty. And he warned against the dangers of lynch law or mob hysteria, alluding to the treatment of the Mormons in Illinois as a crucial example which all would remember. Speaking finally as a minister, he commented on the colossal vanity of piling up earthly honors which would shrink with the cold kiss of the grave.

But commencement oratory is likely to be dreary reading a hundred years after the occasion which called it forth, and there is none of the intellectual stimulation in Russell's addresses that fired Emerson's Phi Beta Kappa speech at Harvard in 1837. More interesting today are his efforts to capture the manners and life of the time in sketches which are often less than half fictitious.

Among the items which Russell contributed to James Hall's *Western Monthly Magazine* were two tales of western life, "The Spectre Hunter, a Legend of the West" and "The Emigrant." Both were set in a period anterior to his own, and both reveal the rough, wild society of early Illinois and Missouri.²⁰

"The Spectre Hunter" is the story of a strange, solitary figure who was seen in the rugged territory near the Cahokia mounds or in the deep woods on either bank of the Mississippi, often at night or in the lightning flashes of storms. His striking appearance, a tall, erect figure, bareheaded and barefooted, his singular costume of sackcloth girdled tightly with a wildcat skin belt to which were appended powder horn and knife, and his mysterious goings and comings had made him something of a legend in 1769 when a French trader and an Indian guide saw him in the Missouri country. Five years later a certain St. Louis priest summoned the faithful to a

²⁰ John Russell, "The Spectre Hunter, A Legend of the West," *Western Monthly Magazine* (Oct., 1833), I: 458-466; "The Emigrant," *ibid.* (Feb., 1835), III: 67-82. The first story was reprinted in the *Illinois Daily Journal* [Springfield], March 14 and 15, 1850.

funeral service, at which he revealed the identity of the mysterious wilderness figure.

Don Manuel was a ranking Spanish grandee, handsome, opulent, powerful, and happily married to a young wife. His sister Isabella made her home with him. On a certain occasion Don Manuel was summoned into the country to inspect some of his lands. On his rather sudden return he came upon a richly dressed cavalier paying court to his wife, who obviously rather enjoyed the homage. Impulsively, Don Manuel drove his dagger into the body of the cavalier, only to discover that he had fatally wounded his sister who had dressed in the costume to enjoy the pleasure of an actress in a new role. Don Manuel's subsequent life was tragedy piled on tragedy. He was imprisoned, he lost his estate, he became temporarily insane, and finally, lucid once more, he and his servant Diego managed to escape to America by feigning membership in one of the mendicant orders. In the Mississippi Valley Don Manuel spent his time brooding and living the wild life of a hunter. Diego set up shop as a trader in St. Louis and secretly supplied his master with food and powder. In this fashion did the Spanish nobleman expiate his crime in the wilds of America.

"The Emigrant" is the story of William Henderson, a Kentuckian who started out from Mason County in his native state in 1815 for the Boonslick country in Missouri. Henderson was a successful farmer, the owner of 300 acres and two slaves, but the greater wealth of his neighbors incited him to try his fortune elsewhere. He first put the slaves and his household goods on a keelboat bound for Missouri, but as he was unwilling to entrust his wife and two daughters to such precarious transportation, he engaged a light wagon for them and himself and proceeded to set out overland. The Hendersons reached Illinois safely and in the vicinity called Big Prairie happened to run into a well dressed, courteous stranger. Since any traveler in those parts was a pleasant sight to the

emigrants, Henderson rapidly became acquainted with the man, one Marvin, and soon discovered that Marvin was also on a land-buying expedition to Missouri, that he knew the country well, but that he was temporarily without funds. Henderson, grateful for company and advice, offered to stake the stranger until he could tap his own resources. Marvin acceded instantly, and then proposed that since the distance was great and time was a factor, Henderson should leave his family with an acquaintance near Big Prairie and should go on alone with him.

This plan was followed. Mrs. Henderson and her daughters remained with the family of Job Corby, while Henderson continued in the wagon with a driver thoughtfully furnished by Marvin. Not long afterward Henderson took a heavily drugged drink and when he recovered consciousness found himself in a primitive cabin in a region unknown to him, his captors meanwhile having divided his possessions among them. Henderson, still stupefied and powerless to act, heard Marvin and his accomplices discuss plans to dispose of their victim and to leave the country. He saw an open grave gaping at him in the earthen floor of the cabin, and he was momentarily expecting the fatal shot when a commotion was heard without and Job Corby, leading a group of regulators, appeared in time to rescue Henderson from certain death. Summary justice was about to be done on the spot when Corby recognized in one of the ruffians a renegade son, and his pleas were sufficient to persuade the regulators to substitute exile for the death penalty. Henderson and his family enjoyed a providential reunion.

Some of Russell's later work found serial publication in the *Alton Courier* and was reissued in pamphlet form from the press of that newspaper. Among the stories thus published were "The Mormoness; or, the Trials of Mary Maverick, a Narrative of Real Events," probably one of the first fictionized treatments of the Mormon theme, "Claudine Lavalley; or,

the First Convict," and "Flora Jarvis; or, the Young Wife's Plea for the Maine Law." Although these tales possess some of the sensationalism implicit in the cheap sensational fiction then being written by O. J. Victor, Emerson Bennett, Ned Buntline, and Edward S. Ellis, they do reflect the atmosphere of an unsettled society which Russell himself had observed rather closely.²¹

Like so many of Russell's tales the story of Mary Maverick is basically true; indeed his son remarked that it was based on stories told at the Russell home in Bluffdale by Sidney Rigdon and Parley Pratt, the Mormon leaders who had fled the fury of Missouri mobs. James Maverick, the husband of the story, was drawn from an actual Baptist preacher named Merrick who had been converted to Mormonism.²² Certainly the religious friction, the persecution, the anti-Mormon feeling, and the violence are authentic.

The story opens with the arrival of a Mormon preacher at a settlement called Sixteen Mile Prairie in Greene County, Illinois, at a time when Mormonism aroused more resentment than curiosity. As Russell observed, "It was a subject of wonder that any human being of sane mind could be deluded into a belief in Mormonism."²³ James Maverick, one of the farmers who was informed about the missionary's appearance, was bitterly antagonistic, but his wife Mary, out of a spirit of tolerance and fair play, went to hear the Mormon speak. A little later James Maverick was surprised to learn that the visiting preacher, a man named Wilmer, was the very person who had once befriended him while he was making a difficult crossing of the Wabash Valley and who had housed him during a subsequent illness. Incapable of being inhospitable in such a situation, Maverick soon welcomed Wilmer to his home.

²¹ "The Mormoness; or, the Trials of Mary Maverick, a Narrative of Real Events," appeared in the *Alton Weekly Courier*, July and August, 1853; "Flora Jarvis; or, the Young Wife's Plea for the Maine Law" was serialized in the same paper, June and July, 1854. The second story apparently was not republished in pamphlet form.

²² Russell, *Trans. Ill. State Hist. Soc.*, 1901, p. 105.

²³ *The Mormoness: or, The Trials of Mary Maverick* (Alton, 1853), 38.

At first Maverick successfully resisted indoctrination into Mormonism, although he lost some of his rancorous opposition. But the gentle persistence of the Mormon evangelists who visited the region and their fervent preaching rather than the logic of their doctrine made a deep impression. Finally Maverick, despite the scorn of his father, a judge and substantial local figure, was converted to the Mormon faith, and he and Mary Maverick were officially welcomed into the communion of Latter-Day Saints. Their next move was to sell their possessions in Greene County in order to join the Mormon Zion in frontier Missouri. The Mavericks reached Zion almost precisely at the time when popular animosity against Mormonism had reached its zenith. Shortly after their arrival an assault was made upon the village. Maverick was killed, and Mary herself endured the horror of seeing a brute named Vorne drag her son Eddy from his hiding place and put a bullet through his head. Widowed and childless all in a moment, Mary Maverick fled with the other Mormons to find brief solace across the Mississippi at Nauvoo.

Despite her difference in opinion with her father-in-law, Mary Maverick returned to Judge Maverick's house where she found a kind reception. But a long stay seemed unendurable, and she resolved to bury her grief in philanthropy. For a time she acted as companion to a young girl dying of consumption, and she lived in a Catholic household in St. Louis. Later she became a nurse among the Indians living beyond the borders of Missouri, and voluntarily brought medical aid to a Shawnee village afflicted with Asiatic cholera. While in the process of these ministrations she was brought to a white man suffering from arrow and knife wounds. Despite her recognition of the victim as Vorne, the murderer of her son, she nursed him back to health without revealing her identity. Later Vorne in gratitude and admiration tried to force marriage upon her, and when he eventually realized who she was the shock drove him insane; this experience coming on top of

physical exhaustion sent Mary Maverick to her grave. Thus, were the trials of a gentle and philanthropic spirit terminated.

The protagonist of "Claudine Lavalley; or, the First Convict" is also a kind and well-meaning woman victimized by society, but the setting of the tale is St. Charles, Missouri, early in the nineteenth century. The American administration following the Louisiana Purchase had just succeeded the Spanish, and the local judge, although French in origin, was loyal to his adopted country. On the second Monday in May, 1805, he was called upon to preside at the trial of Claudine Lavalley, indicted on circumstantial evidence for the crime of murdering her brother and the first person to be accused of a capital offense under the new regime. Public feeling ran high against Claudine, since everyone considered the evidence against her to be damning and all were afraid that her beauty and youth might win her a reprieve. Only Father Laroche, the local priest and for most of her life her guardian, believed her innocent.

The trial proceeded without particular incident. Fairly complete external evidence against Claudine was produced by the state, and Claudine, wishing above all to preserve the reputation of her murdered brother, said nothing by way of exonerating herself. Following a jury verdict of guilty, the judge pronounced a sentence of death by hanging a few weeks hence. It was then that Father Laroche took a hand. Going privately to the recently appointed territorial governor, General James Wilkinson, the priest procured a complete pardon for Claudine on condition that she at once leave the region and not return within five years. Claudine vanished immediately, and when she reappeared in the story much later it was as the wife of a New Orleans planter.

Flashbacks then reveal the real course of events. Claudine and her brother Pierre were the orphaned children of a fairly wealthy gentleman and would, on coming of age, share his estate. An uncle in the meanwhile had charge of the estate,

and the parish priest supervised the children's education. Claudine matured into a charming and talented young lady, but Pierre proved more and more unstable. Eventually he began to associate with an unscrupulous adventurer, Robertson, who wished to secure both the Lavalle money and Claudine as a wife. She rejected all his advances, but more and more he induced Pierre to enter illicit enterprises until Pierre's fear of publicity impelled him to obey Robertson's every command. The climax came when Robertson planned with Pierre's aid to abduct Claudine. When this plan was frustrated, Robertson deliberately killed Pierre with an ax, threw the ax into Claudine's bedroom, and fled from the scene. Although no motive for the crime was established in the courtroom, the prosecution found it easy enough to convict Claudine of murder.

The sequel, as in most of John Russell's stories, was more pleasant. Claudine was placed by the priest in a New Orleans convent. From there she went to the home of a wealthy lady who wished a companion, and it was her son, Raimond d'Iberville, whom she eventually married. In the final chapter the D'Ibervilles happened to visit a charity hospital in the city and came across a dying man. The man turned out to be the very Robertson who had murdered Pierre Lavalle and who had brought the sentence of death upon Claudine. In haste Robertson penned a confession which not only cleared up the murder but exonerated Claudine from any guilt. The final touch of poetic justice in the fiction is the arrival of the aged priest, Father Laroche, in New Orleans, his reunion with Claudine, and his finding of a last refuge in the D'Iberville family.²⁴

"Flora Jarvis; or, the Young Wife's Plea for the Maine Law" is, as the title implies, a temperance tract disguised as fiction.²⁵ The story opens in Vermont to which state an Illi-

²⁴ *Claudine Lavalle; or, The First Convict* (Alton, 1853).

²⁵ An editorial comment prefixed to the first installment of the story in the *Alton Daily Morning Courier* of June 24, 1854, reads as follows: "We commence this morning an interesting story by an old and pleasant literary acquaintance of our readers, Prof. JOHN RUSSELL, of Bluffdale. The name of the author is a sufficient guarantee of its merit both in style and matter."

nois lawyer had gone to settle an inheritance case. The reader is soon introduced to a Vermont attorney named Jarvis, who has brought up his only daughter Flora as if she were a boy. Flora was trained in music, painting, and cookery; she had mastered French and German; she had learned a good deal about fishing and shooting; and to cap the climax she had read so much Blackstone that a group of legal friends of Squire Jarvis in a mock ceremony had admitted her to the Vermont bar. But cholera struck the town and left Flora an orphan at the age of seventeen with almost no financial resources. She determined not to accept the half-hearted relief offered by relatives but instead decided to find a rural school-teaching job in Illinois—the Far West!

Not long after her arrival in Illinois she married a Kentucky physician, Dr. Carroll, a temperate and kind man. Unfortunately he was offered some rare wine, drank to excess, and abused Flora soon after their marriage. Removal to another community was followed by Dr. Carroll's entrance into a local grog shop, where in a drunken fit he became quarrelsome and killed a man. The physician was indicted for murder, but Flora pleaded eloquently and adroitly for her husband's life, blaming the state of Illinois for licensing unprincipled liquor sellers, and won a verdict of not guilty. On the steps of the courthouse she lectured the sympathetic crowd: "Wives, and mothers, and sisters, and daughters of Illinois! when the Maine Law shall be extended over our prairies, take your shoes from off your feet, for you will then stand on holy ground."²⁶ Flora's triumph was double, for not only did she free her husband, but she aroused the citizens to descend on Jones's groggery, destroying his stock and driving the proprietor out of town.

As literary achievements these stories of John Russell's have several distinct merits. The fact that a substantial bit of actuality is involved in all the plots gives them the tone of au

²⁶ *Alton Daily Morning Courier*, July 6, 1854.

thenticity which they might otherwise lack. The events are probable, and the characters play plausible roles. Russell did not shine as a narrator and his tales have slight dramatic value, nor could he write dialogue which resembled actual human speech. But it is noteworthy that he seldom employed lurid details merely because they were lurid, and that, considering his training and the age in which he wrote, he was surprisingly free from didacticism. Russell preached less in his tales than did many of his contemporary writers, although it is true that the main impact of most of his fiction is hortatory. Moreover, his style is clear, unadorned, straightforward, without the flourishes and displays of rhetoric so relished at the time. He used neither irony nor humor, but he wrote simply and with considerable effect. For such truthful stories of early Illinois and Missouri without prolixity or maudlin sentiment one can only be grateful.

A word should also be said about Russell's views in general. A Baptist minister by inclination and practice if not by orthodox training, he was devoted to religion, but his tolerance prevented him from ever becoming a blind sectary. If any doctrine won his fervent support more than others it was temperance, and temperance he preached throughout his life. His first great literary success, indeed, was an allegorical tale called "The Venomous Worm" in which he condemned the still as the root of human evil and attacked drink as vicious. Originally written for the *St. Charles Missourian*, "The Venomous Worm" was widely reprinted in both eastern and western papers and was included in such popular texts as the McGuffey readers.²⁷

The Golden Rule principle of morality and the conviction that good deeds eventually brought their own compensation were also deeply ingrained in Russell. Among other tracts disguised as fiction which he wrote for the American Baptist

²⁷ John Reynolds reprinted the allegory in *My Own Times* (Chicago, 1879), 279-80; see also William H. McGuffey, *McGuffey's New Fifth Eclectic Reader* (Cincinnati, 1866), 192-93.

Publication Society is *Going to Mill*, a rambling narrative of some ninety pages which develops the thesis that good will eventually produce good, in this world as well as in the next. The tale is set in Lakeville in the Illinois Valley, a community suspiciously like Bluffdale, and its focal character is one Richard Coleman, a wealthy Baptist merchant of St. Louis, who narrates how he was able to rescue the granddaughter of a girl who once befriended him. Even this Sunday school tale has some of Russell's creative skill in its pictures of rural life.²⁸

Moreover, Russell supported the cause of the worker and had little interest in any kind of aristocracy. Long before Thorstein Veblen pontificated about conspicuous waste he felt that a leisure class was parasitic. Russell's views about the dignity of labor were expressed in the McKendree College commencement address of 1854; they also appear somewhat prophetically in an article entitled "Three Hundred Years Hence" which he wrote in 1830.²⁹ Again using the allegory as a literary form, Russell described a dream in which he visited St. Louis three centuries in the future, saw a profusion of attractive cottages flanking broad highways on the east side of the Mississippi, observed forests of masts denoting the ships which plied the great river, and, forty years before the Eads Bridge materialized, envisioned iron spans over which traffic flowed into the largest city of the western hemisphere. But his dream came to an abrupt end when he ventured into the metropolis only to discover that smoke-blackened air and filthy, narrow streets made living conditions deplorable for the working class, while militant class warfare had broken out, with soldiers in the streets shooting down refractory proletarians. To John Russell, student, educator, writer, agrarian, the industrial future was not altogether roseate.

²⁸ John Russell, *Going to Mill* (Philadelphia, n.d. [1858]).

²⁹ Bluffdale [John Russell], "Three Hundred Years Hence," *Illinois Monthly Magazine* (Nov., 1830), I: 49-55. In his *Growth of American Thought* (New York, 1943), Merle Curti cites this allegory and calls it "a remarkable sketch on social justice" (p. 263) but he fails to identify its author as John Russell.

In pre-Civil-War Illinois, when writing was less a profession than an avocation, John Russell was an interesting and important figure. He belongs with such men as Peter Cartwright, John Mason Peck, James Hall, and Morris Birkbeck, all of whom combined busy practical lives with the adroit use of the pen. Given a wider audience and a more stable medium of publication, Russell might well have figured in the history of American fiction.



CIVIL WAR COMEDY

The following anecdote is from *Camp-Fire Sketches and Battle-Field Echoes of the Rebellion*, (W. C. King & Co., Springfield, Mass., 1887) in the Alfred W. Stern Civil War Collection of the Illinois State Historical Library:

When I was in the service we used to tuck it pretty hard to the raw recruits, sometimes. I remember one fellow in particular, who joined our regiment when we were in Virginia. He was a raw-boned fellow, who had come to the war to gain a big commission in the army. He was about as green a chap in military affairs as I ever saw. This recruit was always talking about how he wanted us boys to teach him all the ins and outs of a soldier's life. He had heard a good deal about picket post duty, and was awfully concerned lest he would bring up wanting in this capacity.

Most of the boys found out, by what the raw recruit said about it,

that his idea of picket post duty was being able to balance one's self on a picket post. So one day we knocked a picket off an old fence, stuck it in the ground, and told him to stand up on it and practice balancing awhile. Every man in the regiment kept his face as sober as a judge, and the recruit worked away trying to balance himself on that picket post till he was all worn out. The captain of my company came up about dusk and saw what we were doing with the poor fellow, gave us all a good blowing up, and comforted the recruit as best he could. Ever after that time that fellow went by the name of the Picket Post. But he was a brave soldier, and won a captain's laurels.

A TOUR OF ILLINOIS IN 1842

BY MENTOR L. WILLIAMS

OF the scores of visitors who journeyed through Illinois in the dramatic though depression-ridden 1840's,¹ few were better equipped to comment on the passing scene than James Kirke Paulding, retired Secretary of the Navy and close friend of ex-President Martin Van Buren. He and Van Buren set out on a long and leisurely tour of the South and West in February, 1842—a journey that occupied nearly five months and covered more than seven thousand miles. The object of the trip was political. The Kinderhook politician had lost caste in the West during his presidency by advocating an independent treasury, which, to the Westerners, meant the end of their high-flying, speculative schemes based on government supported state banks. Little Van had salvaged his plan by backing the pre-emption measures through which the bona fide settler could purchase his land at the minimum price of \$1.25 per acre. A populace, deluded by Whig propaganda, turned "Matty" down in 1840: he drank from silver coolers, ate from gold service, perfumed his whiskers, and slept in a

¹ Other visitors in the forties included Margaret Fuller, William Cullen Bryant, Horace Greeley, Thurlow Weed, J. S. Buckingham, Philip Hone, John Davis, and Charles Dickens.

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"silken bed of down."² Harrison and Tyler were the popular choices over the "depression-making Democrats." If he was to have a chance for the 1844 nomination, he had to repair his political fences in the South and West. By 1842, Van Buren's fortunes were looking up. Tyler's approval of Clay's high tariff had alienated the South, and his veto of the bill to distribute the proceeds from the sale of public lands to the states had infuriated the West. Now, if ever, was the time to move in on a disrupted Whig Party.

The Van Buren-Paulding junket was carefully planned. It took them into all parts of the South and the frontier West, where everyone could have a look at this aristocrat who posed as Jackson's successor to the Democratic mantle and see what manner of man he was. They swung through the South to New Orleans, traveled up the Mississippi to Memphis, and from there went on to Nashville, Tennessee, where they visited Old Hickory. It was from the Hermitage that Paulding wrote a niece, Margarette Kemble, of the "royal" receptions they met with everywhere:

On landing [at Nashville] we were received into the bosom of a crowd of some thousands whom I wished in the bottom of the Red Sea, for I have a great dislike to being pushed about here and there, and having my toes trod on by fellows with hob nails in their shoes. I met one of them at Columbia the other day, in the crowd in the yard of the Court House, who planted his foot on one of my corns with such emphasis that the print of the hob nails remains on my boot to this day. . . . I shook hands with about five thousand people, some of whom squeezed my fingers together so tight that it took two days for them to separate, and for that time I was web-fingered.³

² *Tippecanoe Song Book* (Philadelphia, 1840), 56.

In another song from the same volume (p. 46), Paulding was lampooned:

"And next," says Paulding, "I do wish
To novels I had stuck,
For writing them would ne'er have made
Of me so lame a duck.

"Dea' Matty, we must soon go back
To quiet Kinderhook,
And in your garret I will write
Another shilling book."

³ May 2, 1842. Quoted in W. I. Paulding, *Literary Life of James K. Paulding* (New York, 1867), 286. Miss Kemble was the daughter of Gouverneur Kemble, New York Senator.

After a pleasant sojourn with Jackson, they went, with the master's blessing, to Ashland to pay their respects to Henry Clay.⁴ After Lexington, they visited Frankfort, Cincinnati, Columbus, and Indianapolis. In June Van Buren turned up at Rochester, Illinois. There he was visited by a party of loyal Springfield Democrats who brought with them as chief entertainer the most able Whig of the region, Abraham Lincoln. Lincoln and Van Buren swapped stories far into the night, and Van was so amused that his sides were sore from laughing.⁵ Meanwhile, Paulding had gone back down the Ohio and up the Mississippi to St. Louis and the Illinois River and had taken passage on a shallow draft steamer which carried him as far as Ottawa. From there he journeyed overland to Chicago⁶ where he rejoined Van Buren's entourage and followed the Great Lakes route back to New York.

Paulding was an accomplished traveler and a good observer. He had, as Secretary of the Board of Navy Commissioners (1815-1823), as Navy Agent for New York (1823-1838), and as Secretary of Navy (1838-1841), been required to make many trips into various parts of the country; one such into the South in 1816 led to the publication of *Letters from the South* (1817) and *The Backwoodsman* (1818). He was a capable writer with a reputation for novels, satires, and sketches. His descriptive powers were above average and few surpassed him in humor and satire. As a Democratic politician, he understood the issues of the day and could write intelligently about land speculation, boom towns, canals and internal improvements, tariffs, low prices, and the desirability of a democratic form of government. Even more important, he could give his observations a stylistic flavor that the journal-

⁴ Dennis T. Lynch, *An Epoch and a Man* (New York, 1929), *passim*.

⁵ William H. Herndon and Jesse W. Weik, *Abraham Lincoln* (New York, 1916), I: 248-50.

⁶ In Chicago a barrel of stale cabbage was put in the public square, probably a dig at Van Buren's Dutch ancestry. Several of the songs in the *Tippecanoe Song Book* referred unfavorably to cabbage and kraut; e.g., p. 50:

No more we'll trust to cabbage-heads
Or Kinderhook physicians.

ist or diary-writing promoter or settler could not possibly achieve. For that reason, his narrative of a trip through Illinois in 1842, when the state was in the throes of canal fever and suffering from a case of depression jitters, is especially valuable.⁷ Paulding's narrative follows:

THE ILLINOIS AND THE PRAIRIES

That gallant officer and enterprising traveler, Major Long, did the Illinois great injustice when he described it as "an extended pool of stagnant water," for it was, when I saw it, one of the prettiest streams to be found in this country of fine rivers.⁸ The width is such as to give a full view of objects on both sides in passing; the basin was full without overflowing; and though the current was gentle, its waters were neither muddy nor stagnant. It should, however, be observed, that my journey was in the season when the rivers of the great Mississippi valley, though beginning to subside, were still high, and that those who wish to see them to advantage should visit the South and West before the heats of summer. Else will they be assuredly disappointed, and accuse me of indulging in a favorite amusement of travelers.

The Illinois, until you approach the Rapids, seems made on purpose for steam navigation, which is seldom, if ever, molested either by winds or waves. With the exception of points where the prairies approach the borders, the river is every where skirted by those magnificent forests which constitute one of the most striking and beautiful features of this new world; and completely sheltered from the storm, seems to glide along unconscious of the uproar of the elements around. It flows through a region which, even in this land of milk and honey, is renowned far and near for its almost unequalled fertility, and the ease with which it may be brought to produce the rich rewards of labor. There is, perhaps, no part of the world where the husbandman labors less, and reaps more, than throughout a great portion of this fine state, on which nature has bestowed her most exuberant bounties.

But, strange to say, I found the good-hearted people, almost without exception, complaining of "hard times," not arising, however, from the usual

⁷ The narrative was published in *Graham's Magazine*, Vol. 34 (Jan. 1849), 16-25. About two-thirds of it is reprinted here.

⁸ Major Stephen H. Long, regularly assigned to exploring expeditions by the federal authorities, mapped the region in 1816: Report to the Secretary of War, March 4, 1817. He also prepared a report on the feasibility of a canal linking Lake Michigan and the Illinois River (Dec. 28, 1819) for John C. Calhoun, secretary of war.

sources of war, famine, or pestilence, but from actual abundance.⁹ They had more than they knew what to do with, and it was an apt, though melancholy commentary on the wisdom of man, as well as the providence of human legislation, that while the citizens of Illinois, and, indeed, the entire great western valley, were overburthened with all the necessities of life, a great portion of the laboring poor of England were starving for want of them, simply because their rulers had virtually prohibited one country from relieving the necessities of the other. But for the high duties on flour, grain and provisions, the wants of the poor of England might and would be greatly relieved by the superabundance of the United States, and thus the blessings of Providence bestowed on one country be disseminated among others. But legislators, renowned for their far-reaching sagacity, have decreed otherwise; and the plenty which might become a universal blessing, is made a burthen to one country, while useless to all the rest of the world. . . .¹⁰

The Illinois has the same peculiarity I observed in all the rivers of the Mississippi valley. With the exception of here and there a solitary plantation, or a little embryo town,¹¹ few traces of man appear on its borders until you arrive at the great prairie, above the head of steam navigation, which extends all the way to the lakes. At long distances we came upon one of those evidences of the busy body, man, in the shape of a little village, a clearing, or an establishment for putting up pork for exportation, where I was told, notwithstanding the "hard times," they throw the ears, feet, and often heads of the swine into the river, to feed the eels and catfish.¹² Indeed, from what I observed throughout the whole extent of my journey, in this suffering region, there is almost as much wasted there as would serve to feed the starving manufacturers of England.

Most of the towns on the river, below the Rapids, have little worthy of attention, and all their glories are prospective; but there is one it would be unpardonable to pass by without a tribute to its surpassing beauties. I refer to Peoria, whose aspect is as soft and gentle as its name.¹³ Father Charlevoix

⁹ In 1841 wheat was selling at 41 cents a bushel in Peoria and at \$1.00 in Chicago. The problem was to get it to Chicago. An Ottawa firm advertised for fifty teams in 1842 to haul wheat to Chicago.

¹⁰ The deleted section is a description of Indians in general, and of the Illini in particular, derived from P. F. X. Charlevoix, *Journal of a Voyage to North America* (London, 1761).

¹¹ J. S. Buckingham, *The Eastern and Western States of America* (London, 1842) III: 216, lists nine towns between Peoria and Peru in 1840: Detroit, Rome, Allen town, Chillicothe, Lacon, Henry, Webster, Hennepin, and Enterprize.

¹² Pork, according to the diary of John Davis, was selling at \$1.50 to \$2.25 a hundred in 1843. This diary is printed in *Papers in Illinois History and Transactions for the Year 1941* (Springfield, 1943), 38-72.

¹³ Davis, a canal appraiser, said that Peoria looked "more thriving than any place between it and St. Louis." *Papers in Illinois History*, 1941, p. 42.

[*sic*],¹⁴ I think, calls it Pimitavery, and it lies on the left bank of the Illinois, where it expands into a lake from one to three miles wide, and ten in length. Ascending the bank, you come upon a fine prairie, forming a crescent, of some twelve or fifteen miles, judging by the eye, whose arch is bounded by a bluff, as it is here usually called, but which represents a natural terrace of wonderful regularity, clothed with luxuriant grass, and crowned with open woods, affording as beautiful sites for country residences as can be imagined in dreams. It was Sunday, and in the afternoon, when the sun was low, I took a walk from the town to the terrace, about a mile distant, which is reached by a private road, leading among wheat and corn fields of the greatest luxuriance.

Nothing could be more soft, calm, and alluring than the weather and the scene. The smooth glassy lake lay directly before me, bordered on the farther side by a vast green meadow receding far way, and fringed in the vague distance by a dark barrier of forest, beyond which was nothing but the skies. Between the lake and the terrace on which I stood, lay the thrifty, gay-looking town; to the left, the crescent gracefully curved till it met the lake, while to the right it made a noble sweep, inclosing a level prairie, whose extent I did not pretend to determine; and which, though it had never been sowed or reaped, looked as smooth as a shaven lawn, as green as the most luxuriant meadow. Neither fence nor inclosure of any kind was seen in that quarter, and the cattle dispersed about in all directions, strayed wherever they pleased. . . .¹⁵

Some eight or ten miles above Peoria, just at the point where this charming lake again becomes metamorphosed into its parent river, and in the midst of a solitude which requires only the presence and labors of man to make it one of the gayest as well as most fruitful districts in the world, are the ruins, or rather remains of the modern city of Rome, founded, not built, in the palmy days of speculation wild. These remains consist of the skeleton of a single house, which puts the passing traveler in mind of the voice of one crying in the wilderness of rich, waving prairie, blooming with flowers of every hue and odor. If there is not a city here now, there certainly will be in time; and the long-sighted speculator, whoever he was, only anticipated a generation or two in the march of population. This beautiful region only wants inhabitants, which, whatever people may say, are necessary to the prosperity of cities; and I think it by no means improbable that some hundreds, or perhaps thousands of years hence—which, after all, is nothing

¹⁴ Paulding consistently calls Charlevoix, Charleroi.

¹⁵ Paulding pauses here to speculate on whether the evidences of mechanical skill in the West may not actually have been the work of intrepid eighteenth-century white men.

compared to eternity—when all the past, present and future glories of the ancient mistress of the world are buried in the bottomless pit of oblivion, the founder of this legitimate successor, though not suckled by a wolf, may take rank with Romulus and Remus, and be immortalized as the parent of a new and more illustrious Rome.¹⁶

Sailing up the river, among the green meadows, and willows kissing the surface of the waters, amid a silence broken only by the puffing of the steam-pipe, the next object which attracted my attention was a pretty little village pleasantly situated on the right bank, whose name commemorates the residence of old Father Hennepin, who, tradition says, once established a mission here. . . .¹⁷

I went on shore and visited the town, which stands on a high gravel bank—a great rarity in this region—and endeavored to ascertain the spot of the good father's residence. But there are no aged persons, no depositories of traditionary lore to be found here; and our people are too much taken up with anticipations of the future, to pay much attention to the past. I found no one could give any precise information, though all were familiar with his name. Hennepin is the county-seat of Putnam; and as it does not, I believe, aspire to the dignity of a great city, like most of its neighbors, will probably flourish long and happily, a memorial of the good father whose name it bears. . . .¹⁸

About the head of steam-navigation on the Illinois, and especially near the junction of the canal¹⁹ which will connect the lakes with the Mississippi, cities multiply prodigiously, and are called by the most prodigious names. Most assuredly my countrymen are great at christening places; but still I wish they would consult Tristram Shandy, where they will find a most edifying discussion on the subject. The race of antiquaries who grope their way backward through the obscure labyrinth of time by the clue of names, will assuredly be not a little puzzled, as children are wont to be, to find out who was the father of Zebedee's children. If they should follow the etymology of names, they will probably come to the conclusion that we derived our parentage from all the nations of the earth, ancient and modern, and had more fathers than children.

Nevertheless I have nothing to say against any of the thriving brood of young cities that multiplied so wonderfully in those happy days when swallows built in young men's whiskers, and the little hatchet became a great hammer before the iron grew cold. Those especially that have either houses

¹⁶ Paulding, of course, is "stirring up a breeze"; there may be an interesting bit of history behind the satire, however.

¹⁷ Here follows a summary of the work of Hennepin and La Salle.

¹⁸ An account, taken from Charlevoix, of the death of Marquette is omitted.

¹⁹ The Illinois and Michigan Canal.

or inhabitants, I wish all possible prosperity, and hope they will one day rival the great cities after which they are christened. But those which have nothing but a name and a lithographic map to demonstrate their existence, cannot expect to be recognized by any traveler of ordinary pretensions to veracity. The commencement of the canal to which allusion has just been made, was the signal for speculation in its immediate vicinity, and six cities were forthwith founded on the prairie between La Salle and Ottawa, a distance of some fourteen miles.²⁰ As they may possibly perish in embryo before their birth, and thus dodge the antiquary who will be looking for them some centuries hence, I feel it a duty to do all I can to assist his inquiries, lest he should lose his wits in searching for them, as did the pedagogue in *Le Sage*, in looking for the *paulo post futurum* of a Greek verb.

The first of these, whose name I don't choose to remember, is very advantageously situated on a barren rock, at the head of the navigation of a stream which can neither be spelt nor pronounced, and which had no water in it when I passed over. But not to wrong the river, or the long-headed, long-sighted founder of the city, I acknowledge I was informed that sometimes during the melting of the snows on the Rocky Mountains, or after a heavy shower of rain, there was an ample sufficiency of water to float a chip—not a ship, gentle reader—of considerable burthen, into the Illinois. It was therefore the opinion of the unknown and illustrious founder, that nothing could prevent this place from becoming in good time a great commercial emporium; and I was told, but will not vouch for the fact, that he had actually organized a whaling company, and seriously talked of opening direct trade with China. In short, he looked forward with all the faith of a speculator, which exceeds that of a martyr ten times over, to seeing his city, in a few years, smothered by a corporation, blessed with half a dozen broken banks, and loaded with debts and taxes, in humble emulation of its betters.

In the books of English tenures, there are some whimsical conditions of ownership and occupancy; but I recollect none similar to the city I am commemorating, which denounces a forfeiture of property on all those convicted of either drinking or bringing spirituous liquors therein. No one will question the morality of this regulation, though its prudence may not be so obvious, as many people might suppose that any future purchasers of lots, some of which I was told had been originally sold for two or three hundred dollars each,²¹ would require some powerful stimulant in addition to the

²⁰ Buckingham (*Eastern and Western States*, III: 222) passed on the way to Ottawa a town called Rockwell, a community of six houses, and Utica with three wellings.

²¹ Buckingham noted that land at Peru was selling for \$800 per acre in 1840. *Eastern and Western States*, III: 221.

excitement of speculation. It is doubtful whether any sober man would give such a price at this time. I had almost forgot to mention that this city has neither houses nor inhabitants.

The next brevet city we passed, is just at the foot of the lower rapids of the Illinois, and directly on the margin of the river. It promises rather better than the other, having one house actually built, and another in anticipation. It is really a delightful spot, on a strip of prairie looking like an immense shaven lawn, backed by a high terrace of grassy knobs and precipitous rocks, whose sides and summits are clothed with foliage, along which the gentle river meanders lazily until it comes to the rapids, which having passed, it pursues its way rejoicing. It might have destroyed the balance of this portion of the new world, had these two great marts been placed on the same side of the river, and accordingly they are prudently located on the opposite shores, in order to preserve the equilibrium. I was told there was a desperate rivalry between them, and great apprehensions are entertained from their competition when they come to be inhabited.

Just above this last-mentioned metropolis, and on the same side of the river, is the Starvation Rock. . . .²² It is one of the most beautiful rocks ever saw, exhibiting a succession of ledges, displayed horizontally with wonderful regularity, but of an infinite variety of shades and colors, such as is generally observed in cliffs of limestone. At a little distance, beheld through the soft hazy atmosphere of the prairie, it resembles the ruins of a great castle, towering to the height of perhaps two hundred feet, garnished with trees, shrubs, flowers and clambering vines. The whole of this vast fruitful region, from the delta of the Mississippi to the Niagara Ridge, terminating at Lewistown, is, so far as I observed, based on a limestone formation, and the waters every where impregnated with lime. They are said to be wholesome when one is accustomed to their use; but, unfortunately, I never could get used to them, and finally came to the conclusion, that—to vary the old proverb a little to suit the occasion—though Heaven had created the land the D—l had furnished the water.

The last city I shall commemorate is called after a famous stronghold in Europe,²³ being seated on a ledge of rocks extending from the Illinois into the prairie, and apparently inaccessible on all sides. It is certainly a capital position in a military point of view, and would be invaluable on the frontier. People might live there in great security if they could find anything to eat. At present the only enemy they would have to fear is famine.

²² Paulding tells of Charlevoix' visit to the Rock in 1720. He assumes that the reader is familiar with the incident from which the name derived.

²³ This description fits Starved Rock which Buckingham, *Eastern and Western States*, III: 225, compared to Gibraltar.

Luckily, however, there are no inhabitants, and one need be under no apprehensions on that score. It is a most picturesque spot, the mossy rocks every where interspersed with flowers and verdure, and the summit crowned with an open wood of lofty trees, under which the grass is as green and luxuriant as a lowland meadow. There are several other cities, lying dormant, between this and the town of Ottawa, and no one can predict their future destinies.²⁴ When the canal connecting the Mississippi and the lakes comes to be finished, as I hope it soon will be, for it is a great national undertaking, and will form the last link to the most extensive inland navigation in the world, there can be little doubt, I think, that this will become a very busy and populous region. Towns will rise up as a matter of course; and, provided they do not ruin each other by their numbers and their rivalry, will flourish to a considerable extent. Those, therefore, who have the wealth of Croesus, and the patience of Job, may, if they please, speculate in town-lots in these embryo cities, for the benefit of their posterity. . . .²⁵

The little town of La Salle lies close to the junction of the canal with the Illinois, and was founded by a colony of the sons of old Erin, who were employed in that undertaking. It is a genuine, unadulterated Irish town; the cabins many of them of turf, and all thatched with straw. The number of pigs is only to be matched by that of children, and both are in a most flourishing condition, to judge from the portly dimensions of one and the rosy cheeks of the other. There is no place in the universe where the jolly, hard-working, warm-hearted Irishman can so gloriously luxuriate in the paradise of potatoes.²⁶

The reader will please to understand that notwithstanding the number of great cities hereabouts, the entire prairie from Peru to Chicago, with here and there an occasional exception, is in a state of nature, although one of the fairest and richest portions of the earth. They began at the wrong end, or rather, they put the cart before the horse, and laid out towns instead of cultivating land. This is one of the prominent foibles of that sanguine, enterprising, anticipating and gallant race which is daily adventuring into the boundless region of the West. They are not content with land of inexhaustible fertility, but almost every tenth man aspires to be the founder of a city. Instead, therefore, of laying out his farm into fields, he lays it out into a town, which he calls after his own name, with a ville at the end of it; or he dams up the river, builds a mill, and lays the foundation of a series of bilious complaints, that descend to his posterity to the second or

²⁴ Paulding's satire on the paper cities was richly deserved.

²⁵ A brief comment on La Salle's pioneer labors is omitted.

²⁶ Buckingham, however, declared that the living quarters of the Irish here were "repulsive." *Eastern and Western States*, III:223.

third generation. Hence the number of towns is out of all proportion to the number of inhabitants. With very many of them, their generation is a mere spasmodic effort of speculation. They consequently exhibit an appearance of prosperity for a few years; are then suddenly arrested, and either never grow any more, or dwindle away to nothing. A despotic monarch like Peter the Great may create a city where he will, but with all his power he cannot perpetuate its existence beyond his own, unless it possesses natural advantages to attract voluntary settlers. Private persons should beware how they undertake to found cities. They may build houses, but they cannot fill them with people.

The town of La Salle, unlike some of its neighbors, was conceived and brought forth in the natural way, that is, the people preceded the houses. When the honest Irish laborers came to work on the canal, they according to custom built themselves cabins, about the spot where they commenced their labors. As the land was neither cultivated nor enclosed, they employed their leisure hours in digging ditches about a piece of prairie large enough for a potato-patch, and sometimes a small patch of wheat or corn. Here with little labor, they raised as much as supplied them with bread, or a substitute; and though the canal has for some years been discontinued for lack of means, these people continue to cultivate their little fields, which are wonderfully productive, frequently making new enclosures, and sometimes erecting frame houses. If the land belonged to the United States they were protected by the right of preemption, and if to a private citizen, it was his interest to let them alone, as there was no danger of the soil being exhausted and he was thus saved the labor of the first ploughing, which is the most expensive of all the process of cultivation here. Thus these honest, laborious people live quite comfortably, waiting the period of recommencing the canal and some of them perhaps able to purchase the land on which they reside provided it is not laid out in cities, which is very probable, for you can hardly put down your foot without crushing one of these mushrooms.

Ottawa, like La Salle, is a real *bona fide* town, with houses and inhabitants.²⁷ Its age is some twelve or fifteen years, and the number of its people from twelve to fifteen hundred. I found the situation so peculiarly agreeable, and the hotel so comfortable,²⁸ that I determined to remain awhile and amuse myself with making little excursions about the neighborhood.

²⁷ Here Buckingham meets the Scotch superintendent of the canal laborers who tells of measures tried to make them temperate but laments their failure. *Eastern and Western States*, III:228-29.

²⁸ Compare with Buckingham, *Eastern and Western States*, III:233, who found there a "dirty and ill-furnished table . . . we could not perceive the contents of any single dish on it, from the myriads of flies . . . sufficient to destroy all appetite even had there been anything on the table that would tempt it." Note that both travelers were there in June.

than which nothing can be more beautiful. The town stands at the junction of the Fox River with the Illinois. They are both clear, limpid streams, and though coming from far distant lands, meet and mingle together as quietly as if they had been friends from their birth.

The scenery is as gentle as the rivers, and as mild and mellow as one of Claude's²⁹ pictures, that actually makes a real connoisseur yawn and stretch to look at it. In one direction the eye passes over a long narrow prairie, all one rich expanse of grass and flowers, through which the Illinois sometimes hurries rapidly over a ledge of rocks, at others meanders lazily along. On either side of the river, the prairie is bounded by those remarkable terraces which form one of the more beautiful features of this region. They rise abruptly from the green level sward, to the height, I should imagine, of one hundred and fifty feet, in some places presenting a smooth grassy bank, whose ascent is dotted and their summits crowned with trees; in others, walls of perpendicular rocks disposed in regular strata, of varied tints, diversified with all sorts of verdure peeping from out the crevices. There terraces seem created on purpose for houses, from the porches or windows of which the proprietors of the rich fields and meadows beneath, might overlook their beautiful possessions, and thank a bounteous Providence for having cast their lot, not in Araby, but Illinois the blest.

Looking toward the north, from my window at the hotel, the great rolling prairie, extending from Ottawa to Chicago, presented itself in a succession of gentle risings and waving lines, all green, yet of such various shades, that there was nothing like sameness or dull insipidity. The Fox River approaches in this direction, and may be seen stealing its way with many windings of coy reluctance, toward that union with the Illinois where it is to lose its name and identity forever. Indeed, in all directions the views are almost unequalled for softness and delicacy, and I hope I may be pardoned for this vain attempt to communicate to my readers a portion of the pleasure I derived from their contemplation. Travelers have a right to such indulgence, since nothing can be more disinterested than for a man to undergo the fatigue of visiting distant places, merely for the gratification of making others as wise as himself.

Ottawa is a fine place for sportsmen, most especially those disciples of Job and St. Anthony who deal with the fishes. The traditionary fishing in the Illinois and Fox Rivers is capital, and there is scarcely a man to be met with, who has not at least once in his life been eminently successful. But it is certainly somewhat peculiar to the gentle science of angling, that the best fishing is always the greatest way off. It is never where you happen

²⁹ Claude Lorrain, celebrated French landscape painter, 1600-1682?

to be, but always somewhere else. It is never in the present tense, but always in the past or the future. However excellent it be on the spot, it is always better somewhere else: and the farther you go, the farther off, to the end of the chapter. Then, ten to one, it is too late, or too early; the sun shines too bright; the wind blows too hard, or does not blow at all. In short, there is ever some untoward circumstance in the way of success, and I know of no school of patience and philosophy superior to the noble apprenticeship of angling.

The fishing is however good, both in the Fox River and the Illinois. There is a large species called trout, rather from its habits than appearance, which frequents the rapids, and is a noble subject for the angler; while the vulgar fisherman, who affects the still water, may now and then luxuriate on a cat-fish weighing ten or fifteen pounds, and ugly enough to frighten a member of a militia court-martial. There is also the gar-fish, of great size, whose pleasure it is to let you toss him up into the air, without ever catching him, and then see him plump down into the water with the bait, perhaps hooked, and all, in his jaws. On the whole, however, the sport is extremely agreeable, and the little excursions to the various points renowned for angling present such a succession of charming scenes, that no one can complain of having toiled all day long and caught no fish, who has preserved the happy faculty of enjoying the smiling earth and balmy air.

Add to this, the prairies abound in a species of grouse, affording equal sport to the fowler and the epicure. I am no shot, but my excellent host, who well deserves a passing notice, and who does credit to the Empire state of which he is a native, was both a capital shot and a first rate angler. Indeed he could do almost any thing, and merited the title of an universal genius as much as any man I have met with. He would every morning start out his little wagon, drawn by a rough uncivilized Indian pony, which, like old Virginia, "never tires," and followed by a couple of dogs, sally out on the prairie, whence he never returned without a supply of game. The summer climate is here by no means oppressive; the storms never last a whole day; and, in short, I know few places where a man fond of rural scenes, rural sports, and quiet enjoyments, might spend his time more pleasantly than in the comfortable quarters of mine host at Ottawa, whose name is Delano, and whose house is on the margin of Fox River.³⁰ "May he live a thousand years, and his shadow never be less."

³⁰ John Davis, *Papers in Illinois History*, 1941, p. 44, "found at Ottoway a good comfortable house [cf. Buckingham above] kept by Delano, who is a hunter and supplies his table with venison. Here I found good fires and had for the first time since I left Baltimore a good nights rest." Delano is obviously a figure who deserves investigation.

Leaving Ottawa, I embarked on the sea of the prairie, and after proceeding a few miles came to a settlement of Norwegians,³¹ consisting of a little straggling village, encompassed by luxuriant fields of wheat and corn, showing forth the rich rewards of industry operating in a fertile soil. The buildings and other appendages indicated not only comfort but competency, and I could not avoid being struck with the singularity of a community from the remote regions of Northern Europe planting itself in this secluded spot in the very bosom of the New World.

Yet this is by no means a solitary example. Go where we will in the great region of the West, we perceive new evidence of the proud and happy destiny of our country, in being above all others on the face of the earth, the land toward which the eager and longing eye of hope is cast from every corner of Christendom: the land to which poverty turns for relief from its sufferings, and the oppressed for the enjoyment of the rights bestowed by God and filched away by man; the land which alone yields an adequate reward to labor, and gives to honest enterprise its fair field for exertion; the land where pining wretchedness never descends as an heir-loom from generation to generation, and want is not, like wealth, hereditary; the New World, which a gracious Providence seems to have reserved as a refuge and a home to the swarms of industrious bees driven from the parent hive for want of room, want of employment, and want of bread. . . .³²

I have lately seen in some of the English papers exaggerated pictures of the condition of the United States, founded, probably, in the policy of encouraging emigration to her own possessions, or derived from the reports of some few disappointed emigrants who have returned home. It was proclaimed that the country was crushed with debts it never could repay without impoverishing the people by taxation; that labor could neither find employment nor receive adequate reward; that an universal blight had come over the land, and every where withered its prosperity; that the states were bankrupt and the people beggars.³³ All this is sheer declamation. There never has been any thing like widely extended, much less general distress

³¹ Norwegians began settling in La Salle County as early as 1834, partly because of the prospects raised by the canal. See T. C. Blegen, ed., *Peter Testman's Account of Experiences in America* (Northfield, Minn. 1927). Testman (p. 55) visited in 1839 a little "Norwegian colony twelve English miles north of the outlet of the Fox River into the Illinois River." See also Carleton C. Qualey, "The Fox River Norwegian Settlement," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, Vol. XXVII, no. 2 (July, 1934), 133 ff. Note, too, the standard works of R. B. Anderson, C. C. Babcock, T. C. Blegen, W. V. Pooley, and A. E. Strand on immigration to Illinois. Norway, Stavanger, and Lisbon were settled by Norwegians.

³² Further rhapsodies on America as a place of refuge are here omitted.

³³ The stereotyped British arguments against emigration. Paulding was an arch nationalist whose works satirizing Great Britain were widely read. He never missed an opportunity to make odious comparisons.

in the United States, arising from a deprivation or curtailment of the necessities or comforts of life. There never was a time when any class, or any considerable proportion of a class, approached within a thousand degrees that poverty and destitution which is the common lot of so large a portion of the laboring people of the Old World. The country has at all times been blessed with a plenty, a superfluity, an exuberance of every product essential to human existence, and those who could not obtain them, were either unwilling to make the necessary exertions, or unable to do so by sickness or some other untoward circumstance. The distress complained of is not positive, but comparative. We may be restricted in our luxuries, but the land from one wide extreme to the other, is absolutely flowing with milk and honey, and it is little less than flying in the face of the bounties of Heaven to complain of hard times, which can only be traced to a superabundance of every thing, and shrink to the earth under the pressure of a debt, the whole of which could be paid in less time than it was contracted, without incurring one-fourth of the burden sustained by the people of England. But we have been spoiled by prosperity. *Fortuna nimis quem foret stultum facit.*³⁴ Fifty years of almost uninterrupted prosperity had turned our heads and it is to be hoped a few years of wholesome reaction will restore us to reason. . . .

The prairies have already been described as well perhaps as they ever will be, because they are a sort of *lusus naturae*, and there is nothing with which to compare them. To tell of what ingredients they are composed is easy enough, but to give a just idea of the effects of their combination, requires analogies not to be found in the other productions of nature, nor in the imagery of the mind. Although substantial realities, they present nothing but deceptions, and I believe it is beyond the power of language, almost imagination, to exaggerate the strange and beautiful combination of what is and what is not, sporting together in perfect harmony on these boundless plains. The eye becomes at length wearied with being thus perpetually the dupe of imaginary forms, and imaginary distances, while the mind involuntarily revolts at the deceptions practiced on the senses. Mr. Bryant in poetry,³⁵ and Mr. Hoffman³⁶ and Mr. Catlin³⁷ in prose, have done all that can be done to convey to those who have never seen them an impression of the effect of these happy eccentricities of nature, and the beautiful

³⁴ *Fortuna nimium quem fovet, stultum facit.* Fortune makes a fool of the man whom she favors too much.

³⁵ William Cullen Bryant, "The Prairies," "The Hunter of the Prairies."

³⁶ Charles Fenno Hoffman, *A Winter in the West* (New York, 1835).

³⁷ George Catlin, *Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Conditions of the North American Indians* (London, 1841), 2 v.

phantasmagoria they exhibit forth to the senses and the imagination.³⁸

If ever miser were pardoned for coveting his neighbors land, it might be such land as the prairies of Illinois, where man labors almost without the sweat of his brow, and the crops are so abundant that all I heard the good people complain of was having more than they knew what to do with. This is indeed a lamentable state of things, and it were I think much to be wished that some of our philosophical lectures would discuss the relative advantages of having too much and too little of a good thing. The case of an individual being overburthened with superfluity, is easily disposed of, as he has only to turn it over to his neighbors who may be in want; but when entire communities, states and confederations of states, labor under this inconvenience, where nobody wants, and all have plenty to bestow; in other words, where all wish to sell and nobody cares to buy, it must be confessed there occurs a crisis of such deplorable difficulty, that I can conceive no effectual remedy except two or three years of famine like those which succeeded the seven years of plenty in Egypt. This would consume the mischievous surplus, and rid them of an evil which as it never before occurred, has never been provided against by the wisdom of legislation, which most people believe can perform impossibilities.

But be this as it may, I passed over a vast region where the table of every man groaned under superfluities, and every brood of swine wasted more corn than would supply bread to a family of English manufacturers. Yet I found all, without exception, in the last stage of hopeless despondency, until one day I entered the log-cabin of an old Negro woman, a slave, who was enjoying her pipe at ease, and upon asking the usual commonplace ques-

³⁸ Paulding, *Life of James K. Paulding*, 295. Paulding's son also printed the following paragraphs in the *Life*, which were obviously in the original manuscript from which this article was taken:

[The Prairie has a character, a physiognomy, and an atmosphere of its own. Just around you it is all reality; at a distance it is all doubt, delusion, mystification. Distances are magnified, or diminished; what seems close by, is often a great way off; and what shows dimly afar, is almost within reach of the hand. What, in passing over, seems a perfect plain, exhibits in perspective a succession of light waving hills rising one above another pencilled in the skies. It is always level under your feet and yet you see a perpetual succession of little eminences, behind, before, and all around. At one time you behold a solitary house looming upon a rise, which, when you approach it is a flat expanse, apparently without beginning or end; at another a distant wood, whose straight line of deep foliage darkens the sky in which it seems to stand self-supported:—at all events, beneath is vacancy.]

Occasionally, you see something sailing across this ocean of land, distinguishable almost as far off as a ship at sea. This is a wagon, freighted with the goods and chattels of a pilgrim journeying to the land of promise, and manned by a troop of dusty children. At first you can see nothing but the peaked ends of the wagon-top, covered with linen or canvas, shaped like gaff-topsails, and one cannot resist the impression always conjured up by the strange resemblance which an open prairie-scene bears to an ocean on which now and then a vessel heaves in sight. Hence these wagons are aptly called Prairie Schooners.]

tion of "how times went with her," was answered with the most cheerful alacrity—"O bravely, massa. Hens 'gin to lay finely." We hear of nations suffering from famine, but my unfortunate countrymen complain of nothing but plenty. Whence comes this strange paradox? Is it because men have sought to invent artificial means of prosperity which act in direct opposition to the great general laws of Providence, and are thus punished for their pre sumptuous folly by a new, unheard of infliction?

After riding a distance of some seventy or eighty miles on the prairie over the best natural roads in the world, I halted at the house of a Dutch farmer from the banks of the Hudson, where I heard that old patriarchal language spoken for the first time in many years. There are several descendants of the ancient Hollanders settled in this quarter,³⁹ to which they are tempted by the broad rich flats, and the easiness of their cultivation. I have observed that those who partake largely in this blood, though almost uniformly steady and industrious in their habits, don't much like hard, fatiguing work. They prefer labor where there is no violent exertion or straining, no heavy burthens to lift or carry, and no call for extraordinary effort to achieve what may be accomplished in the ordinary way without them. Hence they are great amateurs in good land, easy to cultivate and yielding liberal returns. In this I think they are perfectly right. Without doubt, it is the destiny of civilized man to labor, that is in moderation. But to labor without the rewards of labor; to be for ever toiling, and panting, and sweating over a piece of rough, stony land, on which the malediction of eternal barrenness has been denounced ever since the creation of the world; to be ever sowing wheat and reaping nothing but tares, is in my opinion, utterly unphilosophical, and unworthy of all men who can go farther and fare better.

A particular occasion had drawn together at this spot a large cavalcade of both sexes, gayly caparisoned and well-mounted, many of the females being equipped in riding-habits, hats with feathers, and all more or less picturesque in their appearance. They chose to accompany the carriage to a little town about six or seven miles distant, over a beautiful expanse of prairie, or as it might be aptly termed, "faerie land," exhibiting a succession of grassy lawns and beds of flowers of hundreds of acres, marshaled under different colors, some were red, some blue, and others entirely yellow. It is difficult to imagine a more gay and beautiful spectacle than that presented on this occasion. The sky was sufficiently obscured to temper the glare of sunshine, which is sometimes here painful to the eye, and the playful caval-

³⁹ Before the "Anti-Rent" controversy reached its climax in the valley of the Hudson, a good many Dutch from the Van Rensselaer tract moved to the West. There were Dutch colonies in Fulton and Peoria counties before 1840 also.

cade, consisting of perhaps an hundred, indulged in a thousand careless, graceful evolutions on the level greensward, that seemed without beginning or end, and offered no obstruction in any direction. Sometimes a pair of riders of both sexes would dash out from the throng, and scamper away until they appeared like shadows against the distant horizon; and at others, the whole mass would separate in different directions, skimming over the plain like Arabs on their winged steeds, their different colored dresses and picturesque costumes rendering the scene indescribably gay and animating. The females all without exception sat and managed their horses with that perfect skill and grace arising from constant habit, and upon the whole, I never witnessed any exhibition that could compare with this ride on the prairie of Illinois in romantic interest and novelty.

Thus, toward evening, I reached the pleasant town which was to be my resting-place for the night. By some strange perversion of ignorance, or freak of vanity, it is nicknamed Juliet, instead of *Joliet*,⁴⁰ from the old pioneer of that name, who established his quarters here in olden time on a mount, which, fortunately, has escaped being travestied into Juliet, and still preserves his name. This mount is one of the most remarkable, as well as beautiful objects in nature. It rises directly from the prairie to the height, I should judge, of more than an hundred feet; is clothed with a rich velvet coat of grass on all sides, as well as at the summit; is entirely distinct from any other eminence; comprises an area of six or eight acres, and is as regular and perfect in construction, form, and outline, as any work of art I ever saw. It has been generally taken by travelers for a creation of those mysterious mound-builders,⁴¹ whose name and history have passed into oblivion, and who have left no memorials of their existence but such as render it only more inexplicable. It is, however, as I ascertained, a production of the cunning hand of Nature, who sometimes, it would seem, amuses herself by showing how much she can excel her illegitimate sister, Art, even in her most successful attempts at imitation.

The canal connecting the Illinois with the lakes, runs directly at the foot of this mount, which with something like Gothic barbarity has been deeply excavated on one side, in order to form the outward bank. This process has disclosed a succession of different strata of earth, clay, and gravel, all regularly defined, and evidently not the work of man, but of the world

⁴⁰ Buckingham makes the same observation, *Eastern and Western States*, III:249. If, as has been said, Van Buren suggested changing the name of Juliet to Joliet, Paulding probably put the idea into his head.

⁴¹ See Buckingham, *Eastern and Western States*, III:245, "No possible doubt can exist of its being wholly artificial." He estimated that the tumulus builders had to move 18,000,000 cubic feet of earth to erect it. *Ibid.*, 245. See also Robert Knight and Lucius Zeuch, "Mt. Joliet: Its Place in Illinois History," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, Vol. XXIII, no. 1 (April, 1930), 84-91.

of craters, which beyond doubt covered all the surrounding country, long posterior to the subsiding of the great deluge. . . .⁴²

Some fifteen years ago the place occupied by the town of Joliet was the seat of Black Hawk's power. It now contains twelve or fifteen hundred white people, and is a busy, growing place, with reasonable anticipations of becoming considerably larger in good time. The frank, hospitable, spirited, and intelligent people of this noble region of the West, must not, however, calculate too confidently on all their towns becoming great cities because they grow with astonishing rapidity at the first starting. Great cities, like great men, do not spring up in all places and every where. A large portion of these towns, like children, will probably increase in size the first few years, more than in all their lives afterward. Many will stop short in their growth, and many will gradually be swallowed up by some neighboring rival, whose natural advantages, or some fortunate concurrence of circumstances, will enable it to secure the ascendancy, and render all the others tributary to its prosperity. When this ascendancy is permanently acquired nothing but inferior towns can flourish in its immediate vicinity, and like all great bodies, they will become the centre of attraction.

The canal connecting the Mississippi with the Lakes runs through the town, and is here finished in a most admirable and substantial manner. It is identified with the River Des Plaines [*sic*], which has been circumscribed by a wall to prevent its overflowing. There are here two locks, and a basin equal to any I have ever seen, and indeed, all the permanent stonework of this canal appears to have been done in the most substantial and perfect style. A canal completing a line of inland water communication to the extent of from three to four thousand miles, by a cut of scarcely more than a hundred, through a region which is almost an apparent level, and presents perhaps fewer natural obstructions than any other of the same extent to be found elsewhere, is not only a noble, but a feasible undertaking. Its advantages are too obvious to require enumeration; it is in fact, essentially a national work,⁴³ and stands a monument of rational foresight, among a thousand visionary schemes of sanguine folly, or selfish fraud. It is already more than two-thirds completed, and I conceive that New York is almost as deeply interested in the final issue as Illinois.⁴⁴

Leaving this fair and flourishing town, which still affords me many agreeable recollections of natural beauty and kind hospitality, I visited in my

⁴² A brief historical note on Joliet has been omitted here.

⁴³ An unusual position for a "party Democrat," though common among western Democrats, for example, John Wentworth of Chicago.

⁴⁴ If possible, Massachusetts was even more deeply interested. Webster was a stockholder. In 1843 Abbott Lawrence and other Boston capitalists appointed "Honest John" Davis, ex-governor of Massachusetts, and Captain William Swift to make inquiries about the status of the canal for the English firm, Baring Brothers.

way to Chicago, the village of Lockport, which has grown up in anticipation of the completion of the canal. The descent of the River Des Plaines is here sufficient to afford ample water-power for mills and manufactories, and this, in a country so level that the water half the time does not know which way to run, is quite enough to excite the sanguine adventurers to this promised land to a degree of delirium, and set them "kalkilating," as Sam Slick has it, a hundred degrees beyond the ratio of geometrical progression. There is little reason to doubt that Lockport will become a considerable manufacturing town in process of time, after the canal is finished⁴⁵; but the far-sighted seekers into futurity would perhaps do well to bear in mind, that there must be people before there are cities; that these latter are the children, not the parents of the country, and that it is not good policy to wait so long for the grass to grow that two or three generations of steeds starve in the meantime. It is well to look a little to the present as well as the future, and not be forever gazing at the shadowy mountain in the distance, lest we fall into the ditch directly under our noses.

A few hours ride in a delightful morning, partly over rich cultivated prairie lands, brought me to Chicago, at the southern extremity of Lake Michigan. It is a fine town, and notwithstanding the blight of speculation which has swept the land from Dan to Beersheba, continues steadily on the increase. This is the best possible proof of inmate constitutional vigor, and affords sufficient augury of its future growth and prosperity. To all these sanguine young cities and citizens, might I assume the universal privilege of giving advice, I would recommend the maxim of the wise Emperor Augustus, though I confess it is somewhat anti-republican to cite such an authority—*festina lente*, hasten slowly—be not in too great a hurry to grow big and to get rich, and do not crow before daylight, like ambitious young coosters, who aspire to be beforehand with the sun.

After remaining three or four days at Chicago, and making several agreeable acquaintances, among which was an enterprising old gentleman of four score, who had come there, as he said, "*to seek his fortune*," I bade farewell to the State of Illinois, bearing on my mind the impression that there was not in any country of the known world, a region of the same extent combining within itself a greater portion of the elements of substantial and enduring prosperity. At the same time, I could not help lamenting that blessed as it is in its soil, its climate, its geographical position, and its industrious population, it had been precipitated from the summit of hope to the lowest byss of debt and depression, by turning its back on the advantages which nature had gratuitously bestowed, to snatch at others that Providence had

⁴⁵ Buckingham, in 1840, found Lockport to be a town of two hundred houses and a filthy bar.

withheld. Though the immediate source of these pressing difficulties of the state, is without doubt improvident legislation, yet let not the good people of Illinois lay all the blame on their law-makers and rulers. They were chosen by their own free voices, and in many cases, for the express purpose of carrying out those very projects which in their vast accumulation have created these embarrassments. It was the feverish anxiety, the headlong haste, the insatiable passion for growing rich in a hurry, independently of the exertions of labor and the savings of economy, that brought them and other states where they are now standing shivering on the verge of bankruptcy.⁴⁶

In the United States the people are the sovereign, and all power either for good or evil emanates from them. If they allow their own passions, or the seductions of others, to lead them astray, it is but a weak evasion to cast the blame on those who were only enabled to perpetrate the offense by the power which they themselves delegated. Let them then set about retrieving the consequences of their adherence to mischievous maxims and habits, by returning to those which if firmly adopted and steadily pursued, will be speedily followed by returning prosperity.⁴⁷ Let the contest be, not who is to blame for the evil, but who shall be foremost in proposing an effectual remedy and contributing all in his power to bring it about. In short, let them only save as much in the next, as they wasted in the last twenty years instead of resorting for relief to the very measure which produced the disease and place their affairs in the hands of clear-sighted honest men, instead of great financiers, whose only expedient for paying one debt is contracting another, and my life on it, they will redeem themselves in less time than it took to enthrall them. But we who live in glass houses should never throw stones. *Illinois has enough of the sisterhood to keep her in countenance.*



⁴⁶ Repudiation was very much in the air. John Davis, whose diary we have mentioned, was worried by the attitude he observed among the settlers along the canal.

⁴⁷ It is clear from such admonitions that this article was written much nearer the date of the tour (1842) than the date of publication (1849).

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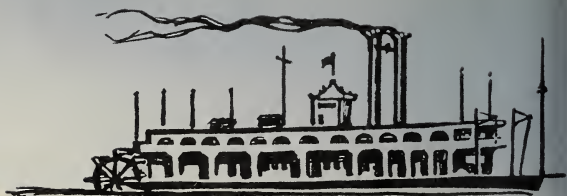
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t h e u n i v e r s i t y o f c h i c a g o p r e s s

NOTES ON OLD CAHOKIA

BY CHARLES E. PETERSON

PART THREE: AMERICAN DOMINATION (1778-1790)

THE Illinois French had never learned to become English, and now they had to become Americans. It was a long time before the adjustment was made. George Rogers Clark's frontiersmen had left a bad impression; they were never quite forgotten nor forgiven.

Virginia, ambitious as her neighbors, had never hesitated to claim the Illinois country as a western extension of her territory, but this was for a long time only theoretical. Contact between the Atlantic seaboard and the French villages on the Mississippi had been slow to develop. The English tended to stay close to their towns while the rival French moved freely up and down the Great Lakes and the Mississippi to the Gulf. Although exploration of the West had been discussed at Jamestown for years it was not until late in the seventeenth century that Virginians reached the eastern fringe of the great valley on waters that flowed into the Ohio River.¹ Some

¹ This was the Botts and Fallam party that left the falls of the Appomattox in 1671. For a general discussion, see Clarence Walworth Alvord and Lee Bidgood, *The First Explorations of the Trans-Allegheny Region by the Virginians, 1650-1674* (Cleveland, 1912).

Charles E. Peterson has become so interested in his subject that he has expanded his original article on Old Cahokia to about twice the length it was when The French American Review first published it last year. And the largest part of this new material is contained in the current installment. Peterson is architect for the National Park Service with headquarters at Washington, D. C.

three decades were to pass before anyone made the complete overland passage between the Mississippi and the Atlantic. That was finally accomplished by a Frenchman, Jean Couture, who came from the west by way of the Tennessee River and afterwards led a party of Carolina fur traders back over the same route. This was about the time of the founding of the Cahokia mission.²

By 1720 Virginia was well aware of the western menace. A legislative act of that year set up two new frontier counties and made reference to "danger from the Indians, and the late settlements of the French to the westward of the said mountains."³ Some of the milestones in westward expansion were the reaching of the Mississippi by John Howard's party of Virginians in 1742⁴; the formation of the old Ohio Land Company by a group of prominent citizens in 1747; the rush of traders, many from Virginia, to the Illinois country in 1765; and Lord Dunmore's War of 1774, which subdued the Indians temporarily and opened much of Kentucky to settlement. From the first, there had been bitter rivalry with the French and as the contest developed neither side had hesitated to send war parties of Indians to wreak vengeance on the frontier outposts of the other. This came to a climax in the French and Indian War.

Virginia's occupation of the Illinois country by Clark in the summer of 1778 created an immediate need for a civil

² Jean Couture had been one of La Salle's men. Verner W. Crane, "The Tennessee River as the Road to Carolina: The Beginnings of Exploration and Trade," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, Vol. III, no. 1 (June, 1916), 3-18.

³ William Waller Hening, *Statutes at Large*, IV (Richmond, 1820), 77.

⁴ These first Virginians to reach the Mississippi overland were captured on the lower river by a party of French and taken to New Orleans as prisoners. John Peter Salley, one of them, heard of the Illinois country with its lead mines and salt springs. Somewhat inaccurately he wrote: "In the River Mississippi above the mouth of Alleghany is a large Island on which are three Towns inhabited by the French, who maintain Commerce and Trade with the French of Cannada, and those French on the mouth of the said River." Fairfax Harrison, "The Virginians on the Ohio and the Mississippi in 1742," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. XXX, no. 2 (April, 1922), 215-16.

⁵ Three incidents are discussed in C. W. Alvord, "Virginia and the West; an Interpretation," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, Vol. III, no. 1 (June, 1916) 21-27.

government. The legislature at Williamsburg passed a law in October setting aside the land northwest of the Ohio as "Illinois County." This was to be governed by a county lieutenant or commandant,⁶ and on December 12, young Colonel John Todd of Kentucky (a friend of Clark's and a burgess at Williamsburg) was appointed to that position with instructions "to cultivate and conciliate the affections of the French and Indians."⁷ On May 12, 1779, his government was proclaimed at Kaskaskia with some fine speeches. The new county was laid off into four districts—each with a court, like those of the Virginia counties, administering its affairs. Cahokia was the seat of one of these districts and had a court of seven judges. It was the first to be organized.⁸

But internal strife had already begun. The Virginians declared that they had liberated the French, who should be grateful,⁹ but the French, as we have seen, came to feel that they had been deceived. The paper money, brought out in quantity by Clark's forces and at first taken at face value, was going from bad to worse. The civil and military departments soon were quarreling with each other. As inflation set in, times got hard; supplies were cut off from Canada, and an embargo was placed on exports. In despair of success, Colonel Todd gave up his civil government after about six months and returned to Kentucky. By the end of 1782 conditions were very grave indeed. It was reported that:

[The people] are wholly without Law or Government: that their Magistrates, from Indolence or sinister views, having for some time been relax in the

⁶ Hening, *Statutes at Large*, IX (Richmond, 1821), 552-53.

⁷ *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, Vol. I (Richmond, 1875), 312. For a sketch of Todd's background, see Clarence W. Alvord, ed., *Cahokia Records, 1778-1790* (Illinois Historical Collections, II, Springfield, 1907), liii-liv. George Rogers Clark Papers (MSS in the Virginia State Library, Richmond).

⁸ The judges were: "Touranjeau (Godin), Francois Trottier, Chas. Gratiot, Girardin B. Saucier, Mr. Beaulieu, P. Marthin," with Francois Saucier, clerk, and J. B. Le Croix, Sheriff. Edward G. Mason, ed., "John Todd's Record-Book," *Chicago Historical Society's Collections*, Vol. IV (Chicago, 1890), 295.

⁹ At first things had gone well: "The people seem pleased with their Exemption from Military Law & being Judged by persons chosen by themselves in their proceedings. They seem in many Instances to prefer the formal Customs of the State to their old Usages." John Todd[?] to your Excellency, July 1, 1779[?], George Rogers Clark Papers.

Execution of their Office, are now altogether without authority: that crime of the greatest enormity may be committed with Impunity, and a man be murdered in his own House and no person regard it: that they have no Sheriff nor Prison: and to crown the general Confusion, that many people have made large purchases of three or four hundred Leagues, and are endeavoring to have themselves established Lords of the Soil.¹⁰

It was probably with relief that Virginia signed over to the Continental Congress all claims to her Illinois County early in 1784.¹¹

The reign of terror which prevailed at Kaskaskia was curbed at Cahokia by the firmness of its court. Nevertheless many distressed Cahokians crossed the river to join their kinfolk and make a fresh start in business under Spanish protection. Among these was Charles Gratiot, one of the ablest men of the region. He had taken an active part in the defense against the British, but, because of the insecurity of Cahokia and its disadvantageous trade position, he decided to move. He had been caught with a large amount of American paper money, which, as he complained, wouldn't buy a cat in St. Louis. "The harder I work, the deeper I plunge into a mass of debts," wrote Gratiot in 1779. "If business continues any longer on this footing, I shall be obliged in spite of my inclinations, to become a Spaniard." During the anxious days of 1780 he sent valuable goods to St. Louis for safety and in the following year he moved to that place to share in the Indian trade from which those on the American side of the river were excluded.¹²

¹⁰ Walker Daniel to the Commissioners for Adjustment of Western Accounts, Feb. 3, 1783. *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, Vol. III (Richmond, 1883), 431.

¹¹ W. W. Edwards, "The Laws in Force in Illinois Prior to its Statehood," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, Vol. XXI, no. 3 (Oct., 1928), 386.

¹² Of Swiss origin, Gratiot had joined a partnership with two Scottish traders—David McCrae and John Kay, of Montreal—and another Swiss by the name of Barth Grison. Gratiot arrived in the Illinois country in 1777—just before the Revolutionary War broke there. Some of his letters from Cahokia have been preserved and thrown light on fur trade operations of the period.

Business of the upper Mississippi settlements with Spanish New Orleans was brisk and attracted the envy of Gratiot. He left us some interesting notes concerning it. An ideal thirty-ton cargo, for instance, which took three months to row, sail, pole and pull up the river consisted of forty barrels of rum on the bottom, twelve hundred blankets, "Indian Cloth" and other goods. Rum, bought at New Orleans for twenty

In spite of the uncertainties of trade and politics, many scattered official documents of the period have survived. Some of these provide information on the earlier periods impossible to find elsewhere. This is particularly true in the interesting matter of managing the fields of Cahokia where land-use practices were an inheritance from medieval France and remained relatively unchanged for many years. Here, as in each of the villages of the Illinois country, the great community project was the building and maintenance of a fence between the commons and the plowlands. All proprietors of fields were compelled to participate in this activity, which dated back to the beginnings of farming at Cahokia. The work appears to have been onerous and difficult to manage. The records are full of disputes and litigation, especially at times when discipline was relaxed. In 1756, for instance, it was alleged that the *habitants* of Cahokia had let their fence fall into such bad repair that the mission cattle were straying to great distances where they were killed by both Indians and French.¹³ There were suits for damages resulting from cattle and hogs breaking through the fence,¹⁴ instances where the land was forfeited for nonmaintenance of the fence,¹⁵ and where the owner voluntarily gave up to save the expense involved.¹⁶

dollars or less a barrel, sold in the Illinois country at a nice profit—enough to pay for the freight of the whole cargo and on arrival usually absorbed all the ready cash in the place.

Gratior's letters early in the war reflect the embarrassed position of British traders in the Mississippi. Also worried about a local crop failure, high prices, and the shortage of goods, to eke out his stock, he encouraged the Cahokians to grow tobacco and put it up in rolls, as done in London. One barge load of his goods sent up the Mississippi to Prairie du Chien actually carried seven or eight hundred pounds of "Carot Tobacco" along with foodstuffs and peltries. He also considered driving a hundred horses to Williamsburg, Virginia, for sale to the Continental Army. Various letters of the years 1778-1779, written by Gratior at Cahokia and included among the Gratior Papers, Billon Translations (MSS, Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis), or a life of Gratior, see Frederic L. Billon, comp., *Annals of St. Louis in Its Early Days under the French and Spanish Dominations* (St. Louis, 1886), 177-96, 214-15, 21-25.

¹³ Laurens to ———, Cahokia, June 7, 1756, MS, Archives of the Seminary of Quebec (A.S.Q.), *Missions*, no. 26.

¹⁴ Alvord, *Cahokia Records*, 47, 123, 139, 183, 249.

¹⁵ Charles Buteaux to Antoine Cesirre, Cahokia, March 24, 1777. Perrin Collection (MSS, Illinois State Archives, Springfield).

¹⁶ Alvord, *Cahokia Records*, 171.

The great fence was managed by officials called "syndics elected at assemblies of the proprietors. The regulations made at these assemblies were modified from time to time. Two known sets of them are evidently based on the practice of many years."¹⁷

A manuscript of 1785 in the Perrin Collection shows that for some years—probably due to the troubles of the Revolutionary War—the fences had been in bad shape and much of the crops destroyed by straying stock. Antoine Girardin, Commandant of Cahokia, called the proprietors together and told them that they must either agree conscientiously to keep up the common fence, or drop the whole system altogether and let each farmer fence by himself. It was decided to continue the original system, and a new set of regulations was proposed and adopted.

Among the specific points agreed on at two meetings—held on April 6 and June 7, 1785—we find the following:

(1) Fencing delinquents shall pay the cost of having their fences repaired by the syndics, and a fine of 30 *livres* as well. "No excuses shall be accepted under pretext of a journey, absence or other hindrance, even of sickness." When necessary, private property of the delinquent shall be seized and sold to pay the costs. [*See Alvord, Cahokia Records*, 145, 221.]

(2) No one shall "scale the fences under pretext of shortening the path, which is the ruin of the fences." (Fines: 10 *livres* for damaging the fence by climbing over, 20 *livres* for making a hole in it.) Masters shall be responsible for informing their slaves.

(3) Pigs may be killed when found in the wheat and rye fields. For apprehending stray cattle and horses, a fee of 10 *livres*.

(4) Hunters and others shall not build fires on these fields, thus creating a hazard to both fence and forage. (Fee for fighting fires, 150 *livres* and/or damages, further punishment may include confinement in irons for eight days.)

(5) *Volontaires* (who seem not to have owned land) shall pay 15 *livres* for right of pasturage on the commons, the same to be paid on April 1 and the receipts applied to a village public works fund.

¹⁷ They also correspond generally with regulations of the Spanish side of the river. The St. Louis common field regulations of Sept. 22, 1782, are published in Billon, *Annals of St. Louis*, 217-20. Regulations for Ste Genevieve fencing may be found in the "Ste Genevieve Archives," Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis. A definitive treatment of this subject, based on the manuscripts of all the French villages, would be most interesting.

(6) The fencing of the Prairie du Pont fields shall be maintained by separate arrangement from that of Cahokia and the stock of the two villages kept apart—each on its own commons.

François Courier was appointed receiver of fines, and to the document, drawn up by Labuxiere the clerk, six *habitants* signed their names and thirty-seven made their marks.¹⁸

The syndics, who were empowered to revise or add to these regulations, set the period for opening the fields to stock for winter forage as November 15 to March 20.¹⁹ They also made the stipulation that any gardens or orchards would have to be enclosed at the expense of the owner.²⁰ The time of harvest was another matter fixed for the entire community.²¹

Among the functionaries of this system was the keeper

¹⁸ Perrin Collection (MSS, Illinois State Archives, Springfield).

Another code was formulated at a village assembly on January 17, 1808. This is quite different from the one just described but seems to complement rather than contradict it. It was stipulated in the agreement that:

(1) The fence shall be five feet (French) high.

(2) Each proprietor shall fence the front side of his own strip and an equitable section of the other three sides.

(3) Six syndics, meeting annually on Jan. 6, shall be named by the assembly to apportion the fencing.

(4) Each section of fence shall be branded with the proprietor's name.

(5) A clerk (*greffier*) shall be appointed each year to keep the records and for this be paid a half *minot* of wheat by each proprietor.

(6) The job of inspecting the fence shall be awarded to the low bidder, bids to be taken on each Jan. 6.

(7) The lands of anyone failing to maintain his section of fence, after due warning by the syndics, shall be sold to the high bidder.

The syndics were named at this meeting and the document approved by forty-nine subscribers. It contains the statement, "The existence of all the individuals at Cahokia demands absolutely that the Common fields (*Champ Commun*) should be securely fenced at all times so that each and every person may sow or plant in said Common fields." The subscribers, to show their good faith, mortgaged their own lands as guarantee.

An affidavit made by a fence inspector named Beaulieu illustrates the functions of that position. Beaulieu had been sent by the syndic to survey the fence (*faire la visite*). He found broken pickets (*pieux*) in the fences of Messrs. Lepage and Trotter, but no signs that any animals had gone through. There were, however, definite signs that hogs had passed through a breach in the fence of M. La Croix. (Perrin Coll.) March 7, 1783.

¹⁹ Complications due to the raising of winter grains (planted in the autumn and harvested in the spring) show up in the records. John Reynolds wrote, "The French, in those days, mostly sowed Spring wheat; so that the wheat crop was preserved in the spring, which was the object of being rigid in repairing the fences. Sometimes wheat was sowed late in the fall, and the cattle did not much injure it during the winter." John Reynolds, *Pioneer History of Illinois* (Belleville, Ill., 1852), 49.

²⁰ These regulations, in extremely bad French, are recorded in St. Clair County records, Book of Deeds, B, pp. 421-23. The common field fencing system of St. Louis had broken down about ten years earlier.

²¹ Reynolds, *Pioneer History*, 49.

who tended the gate where the road to the individual field passed through the great fence. This is revealed in the record of a lawsuit of 1782 showing that when the gatekeeper (who was a Negro belonging to Jean Baptiste Saucier) opened the gate to let through a *charette*, a hog had inadvertently been allowed to get through. The hog was killed to protect the crops and its owner then sued Saucier for damages.²²

The Cahokia court also held jurisdiction over land matters. On June 11, 1783, for instance, a court was held to dispose of unallotted lands at Prairie du Pont by the drawing of lots,²³ and in 1786 the court conceded plowlands with 10-*arpent* front and 44-*arpent* depth to Anglo-American newcomers.²⁴

The Virginians appreciated the wisdom of the French system of laying out these river bottom lands. As Colonel Todd wrote in 1779, "The Low Lands upon the Great River are exceedingly fertile & ought not to be subject to the same Regulations of Settling as other Lands. they should run back 5 or 10 [?] times its width through the Low Ground & have annexed a Common or pasture on the bank . . . 400 acre running 3 times its width along the River wd. ruin it." Thomas Jefferson, then governor, agreed, believing "The manner in which the Lots of Land are laid off about the French Villages . . . very wise & worthy of imitation,"²⁵ and it was officially continued during the Virginia regime.²⁷

Having had a taste of land speculators, the holdings of the *habitants* at this time were naturally a matter of great anxiety to them. In the French regime there had always been more land than needed, and the first settlers had been content to take only such acreage as they could individually enclose and

²² Alvord, *Cahokia Records*, 139, 141.

²³ Act of Jan. 20, 1781. Alvord, *Cahokia Records*, 567.

²⁴ Alvord, *Cahokia Records*, 587.

²⁵ John Todd [?] to your Excellency, July 1, 1779[?], George Rogers Clark Papers.

²⁶ Thomas Jefferson to George Rogers Clark, Williamsburg, Jan. 29, 1780. James A. James, *George Rogers Clark Papers, 1771-1781* (Illinois Historical Collections, VIII, Springfield, 1912), 387.

²⁷ James, *Clark Papers*, civ.

cultivate. The land grabbing attempted by the British and Americans became a formidable threat to the community.

It was not until 1787 that the Northwest Ordinance set up a regular territorial government. Brigadier General Josiah Harmar, acting governor at the time, inspected Cahokia in August of that year²⁸ with Barthelemi Tardiveau, who was soon to be appointed agent of the Illinois country landowners before the Continental Congress.²⁹ The magistrates and principal inhabitants of Cahokia made an agreement with Tardiveau on August 27, by which the latter was to receive one-fifth of the lands conceded to pay him for his efforts and for incidental expenses.³⁰ After much eloquent promotion at Philadelphia an act was passed in 1788 directing that measures be taken immediately for confirming land titles to the old settlers on the Mississippi who had taken the oath of allegiance on or before the year 1783.³¹

The Act also included a grant of 400 acres to each family, intended as indemnity for damages suffered during the Virginia occupation under George Rogers Clark. Pursuant to this, Governor St. Clair directed the inhabitants to come forth and exhibit proofs of the right of ownership.³² As to the Cahokia Mission grant, that vast area—most of it never developed—was reunited to the public domain.³³

The laws of the Northwest Territory were considerably

²⁸ Reporting his visit of Aug. 19, Josiah Harmar wrote: "Cahokia is a village of nearly the same size as that of Kaskaskia, and inhabited by the same kind of people. Their number was two hundred and thirty-nine old men and young. I was received with the greatest hospitality by the inhabitants. There was a decent submission and respect in their behavior." Josiah Harmar to Secretary of War, Fort Harmar, Nov. 4, 1787. William Henry Smith, ed., *The St. Clair Papers* (Cincinnati, 1882), 1:31.

²⁹ For a life of Tardiveau and a discussion of this period, see Howard C. Rice, *Barthelemi Tardiveau, A French Trader in the West* (Baltimore, 1938). Tardiveau had come from France during the American Revolution, had lived later in Kentucky, was acquainted with the local problem and sympathetic with the Illinois French. He was appointed Judge of Probate in St. Clair County in 1790, and died at New Madrid, Upper Louisiana, in 1801.

³⁰ Alvord, *Cahokia Records*, 591, 593.

³¹ Act of June 20, 1788. Clarence E. Carter, ed., *Territorial Papers of the United States*, III (Washington, 1934), 296-97.

³² Proclamation of March 7, 1790. *Ibid.*

³³ Proclamation of April 22, 1790. *Ibid.*, 297-301.

designed to maintain the *status quo* in the French villages. The enclosing and cultivating of the common fields was required in accordance with the old traditions.³⁴ The Cahokia commons was also continued, ownership being confirmed to the villagers by act of Congress,³⁵ and for the first time this tract was formally laid off as an area of 5,400 acres.³⁶

The same summer, to put an end to the thievery which had been working havoc in the fields and gardens, the commandant had posted and read at the church door a special proclamation. Anyone convicted was subjected to a fine of 100 *livres*, half of which would go to the informer and half into the public funds. Culprits might also be put in irons for eight days and "paraded through the village of Cahokia with the marks of their theft hanging from their collar." This document is interesting also in that it names some of the current crops as "wheat and rye, corn, peas, beans, pumpkins, melon and other vegetables."³⁷

Although great emphasis must be laid on the characteristic compactness of the Cahokia community, there were a number of outlying establishments, some as far as several miles. The activities at these points were naturally in inverse relation to the hostility of the Indians. Whenever the savage went on the warpath, the outlanders made haste for refuge in the old village.

The main dependency of Cahokia was Prairie du Pont to the south, a village that still exists. The evolution of this settlement is obscure. John Reynolds wrote that it was begun in 1760 and had fourteen families in 1765.³⁸ There is evidence, however, that the settlement was first formed on grant of land made about 1779 or 1780 by the owner, Antoine

³⁴ Theodore Calvin Pease, *The Laws of the Northwest Territory, 1788-1800* (Illinois Historical Collections, XVII, Springfield, 1925), 498-501.

³⁵ Act of March 3, 1791. Carter, *Territorial Papers*, II:341.

³⁶ *American State Papers, Public Lands*. II (Washington, 1834), 194. No limit for the commons could then be found "in the ancient records."

³⁷ Perrin Collection, Aug. 28, 1785.

³⁸ Reynolds, *Pioneer History*, 48. Reynolds' testimony has been proven inaccurate in many details.

Girardin.³⁹ In spite of some opposition to its establishment, the Court of Cahokia in 1783 acknowledged the existence of the new hamlet and laid off for it a separate commons and common fields.⁴⁰ A year later its fences were ordered established and maintained.⁴¹

Farther south, along the road to Fort Chartres and at the point where it climbed the bluff, a small village of Anglo-Americans called Grand Ruisseau was settled in 1781. These people came up from the mouth of the Ohio River when Virginia troops abandoned the fort there.⁴² Although the newcomers were placed under the jurisdiction of the Cahokia court, they maintained a separate identity for some years. The settlement was dispersed after peace was made with the Indians and it became safe to live on outlying farms.

North of Cahokia the American Bottom widens greatly. Across this vast flat area of plains, woods, and ox-bow lakes, the *Rivière à l' Abbè*—now Cahokia Creek—once meandered. Along its course in the eighteenth century were to be found a number of interesting establishments.

At the point where Canteen Creek comes down from the hills and joins Cahokia Creek, still rises that great prehistoric earthwork, the "Great Nobb," now called Monks' Mound.⁴³ Immediately west of this was *La Cantine*, a trading post opened about 1777, or soon after the British Army left the Illinois country. It appears to be an example of American enterprise competing with Spanish St. Louis and was managed by one Isaac Levy, together with Jean Baptiste Hubert *dit* La Croix, Jean Dumoulin, and Thomas Brady. *La Cantine* was oper-

³⁹ Alvord, *Cahokia Records*, 89. (April 23, 1780.)

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 153, 565, 567. (June 11, 1780.)

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 157, 159. (Feb. 5, 1784.) By 1784 land had already been forfeited or nonmaintenance of the fence. (*Ibid.*, 171, June 3, 1784.) Antoine Girardin, commandant and magistrate at Prairie du Pont, was still granting lands in 1786. *Ibid.*, 591, notice, Feb. 26, 1786.) In 1790 he had a stone house under construction which must have been the mansion of the place. (Carter, *Territorial Papers*, II: 266.)

⁴² Alvord, *Cahokia Records*, cxxii.

⁴³ The mound is now preserved, with smaller ones, in the Cahokia Mounds State Park. It rises to a height of 104 feet and is the largest in the United States.

ated until 1784 when the general outbreak of Indian troubles caused it to be given up⁴⁴ and the proprietors returned to Cahokia.

Farther down the *Rivière à l'Abbé* was the establishment of Richard McCarty, a native of Connecticut who had come down from Michilimackinac as a trader.⁴⁵ This was begun in 1775 by permission of the British commandant. Soon afterward, enclosures for cultivation and a watermill were built.⁴⁶ From this place, which McCarty called "St. Urseuls," he could watch what was going on in the new town of St. Louis on the opposite bank of the Mississippi at short distance. Things went well here until the war reached Cahokia.⁴⁷ McCarty

⁴⁴ "Kaskaskia French and English Deed Records," A:319, 320. (MSS in the State Auditor's Office, Springfield.) The deposition of 1799 showed that *La Cantine* was located "about twelve miles above Cahokia . . . near where the old French church formerly stood." This is evidently the separate church built for the Indians about 1735 and called in that year by Father Mercier "our new church at the Indian village." ASQ, *Polygraph* 9, no. 15. Clarence W. Alvord, *The Illinois County, 1673-1818* (Springfield, 1920), 200. The claim is identified as no. 902, *American State Papers, Public Lands*, II: 160.

The activities of the traders involved with *La Cantine* are more or less continuous. In 1779 County Lieutenant John Todd granted a short term monopoly of the Indian trade in the region between Cahokia and the Illinois River to Levy, La Croix, and Charles Gratiot on condition of their good conduct, Alvord, *Cahokia Records*, 463, 465.

Evidently things did not always run smoothly at this establishment and among its proprietors, for the wife of trader Henson in 1779 was found "guilty of evil speech with the savages" and ordered to leave. *Ibid.*, 29. This was the woman who was beaten within an inch of her life by Alexis Brisson for malicious gossip. *Ibid.*, 334-35n. The partnership must have fallen apart soon afterward, for in 1781 La Croix was suing Levy for repayment of a note handled at Michilimackinac. *Ibid.*, 99.

In 1782 the Cahokia Court gave special permission to La Croix to trade with the Indians on condition that he would not furnish them liquor at the village and that he give preference to Cahokians over others. The nature of the goods traded is indicated on a list of fixed prices in the agreement:

Oil at three *livres* ten *sols*.
Tallow at one *livre* ten *sols*.
Spare ribs at seven *livres* ten *sols*.
The meat of deer at ten *livres*.
Smoked hides at five *livres*.

Alvord, *Cahokia Records*, 127. This privilege was given up by La Croix three and one-half years later "for reason known to himself," *Ibid.*, 213.

⁴⁵ Arent S. De Peyster to Frederick Haldimand, Michilimackinac, Aug. 15, 1778 *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society Collections*, IX (Lansing, 1886), 368. Petition, June 10, 1779, "Kaskaskia French and English Deed Records," B:101.

⁴⁶ Alvord, *Cahokia Records*, 465. Pursuant to Claim No. 1316, the heirs of McCarty were confirmed in possession of a 400-acre tract "adjoining the common field of Cahokia, including his former mill on the river l'Abbé." *American State Papers, Public Lands*, II:160.

⁴⁷ Richard McCarty to John Askin, "St. Urseuls at the Illinois," June 7, 1778 *Mich. Pioneer and Hist. Soc. Coll.*, IX:368-69. The name was doubtless given in

decided to throw in his lot with George Rogers Clark and was soon serving as a captain in the Illinois regiment.⁴⁸ In McCarty's absence his mill dam was carried away in a freshet and although he was assured that a regiment of Virginians would encamp near by and help him rebuild it,⁴⁹ nothing appears to have been done. McCarty was killed in 1781 while enroute on a mission to Richmond, and the mill was apparently abandoned.⁵⁰

Another mill somewhere on the *Rivière à l' Abbè* was that of Antoine Girardin, built with the permission of the Cahokia commandant, Captain John Shee, about 1771. Little is known of it except that it cost a considerable sum and ran only a few months.⁵¹ The post of Jean Baptiste Cardinal at or near the site of modern Alton might also be considered a dependency of Cahokia. When the proprietor was captured by the Indians his family took refuge at the latter place.⁵²

Characteristic features of the Illinois country not mentioned above were the sugar camps (*sucrieries*) to which the French repaired in early spring to make maple sugar. The

honor of the patron saint of his Canadian wife, nee Ursule Benoist. On Feb. 6, 1777, McCarty wrote to Rocheblave that he had sent for "an Englishman who was said to be at Misere [Ste Genevieve, Missouri] a man very expert in the building of mills . . ." Edward G. Mason, ed., *Early Chicago and Illinois* (Chicago Historical Society's Collections, IV, Chicago, 1890), 384.

⁴⁸ Richard McCarty to his wife, April 28, 1779. Alvord, *Cahokia Records*, 29. On June 4, 1779, McCarty posted a notice that he was going out of business Alvord, *Cahokia Records*, 461), but on the following day he was licensed at Kaskaskia to trade with subjects and friends of the United States and to erect factories and stores. Mason, *Early Chicago and Illinois*, 296-97.

⁴⁹ Alvord, *Cahokia Records*, 529. While living on Cahokia Creek he had the consolation of an Indian girl named Lisette, whom he manumitted from slavery. When he was serving with the Virginia regiment, his mill dam not only washed away but his cattle got loose in the Cahokia common fields, where they were shot by the farmers. McCarty, as an army officer, because of his arbitrary nature, got into other trouble with the French inhabitants during the occupation of Cahokia. Alvord, *ibid.*, 614-15. McCarty's will, made April 5, 1781, was recorded in "Kaskaskia French and English Deed Records," B:99.

⁵⁰ Alvord, *Cahokia Records*, cii, ciii.

⁵¹ The site was to be selected "in a place where the Inhabitants Shall point out, or being most convenient to the Publick." "Kaskaskia French and English Deed records," A:180, B:56. This may have been identical or connected with the McCarty mill on the same stream mentioned above. Girardin had another mill which he abandoned in 1782. Alvord, *Cahokia Records*, 129. None of these river, bottom- and mill sites seems to have been successful.

⁵² *American State Papers: Public Lands*, II: 221.

land records identify some of those near Cahokia. The Barron brothers had such a tract 16 *arpents* square from before the year 1755,⁵³ the Beaulieu family one at *La Prairie du Pain de Sucre* (Sugar-loaf Prairie) granted them by the missionary proprietors in 1763,⁵⁴ and the Marleau family another on the bottoms at "Big Lake" from the year 1769.⁵⁵

During the Indian outbreaks after the Revolutionary War the Cahokians seemed to have abandoned these isolated establishments to stay close to their village. Even after the disastrous flood of 1785 nearly all seem to have returned to the old home in the bottoms.⁵⁶

ARCHITECTURAL LANDMARKS

Very little is left of eighteenth century Cahokia, possibly only two buildings—the Old Courthouse and the Church of the Holy Family. Few facts are known about either, but because of their unique character as landmarks in the oldest settlement on the Mississippi, every available scrap of information regarding their origin is presented here.

The Courthouse is the earlier of the two. Its construction and ownership have often been attributed to an engineer of the French army named Saucier, but that is quite certainly an error. François Saucier was a "sub-engineer" who came up to the Illinois country in 1751 on orders to rebuild its defenses.⁵⁷ He died there February 26, 1757,⁵⁸ at least two or three years before the completion of Fort Chartres, his prin-

⁵³ "Kaskaskia French and English Deed Records," A:192.

⁵⁴ Alvord, *Cahokia Records*, 223-27. The Trotter family had one about fifty acres in size at the same place, sold Dec., 1802. "Kaskaskia French and English Deed Records," B:73, 74. Five claims for sugar camps were reviewed in 1803. *Ibid.*, A:253, 254.

⁵⁵ "Kaskaskia French and English Deed Records," B:71.

⁵⁶ Right after the flood Pierre Martin and Thomas Brady got concessions at the Little Prairie on the bluffs for safety from the river, but their example does not seem to have been generally followed. Alvord, *Cahokia Records*, 197.

⁵⁷ Orders, Vaudreuil and Michel to Saucier, Aug. 27, 1751. Paris, *Archives Nationales, Colonies*, C13A, 38: 20.

⁵⁸ Desclozeaux to ———, July 11, 1757, Paris, *Archives Nationales, Colonies*, C13A, 31: 290.



CAHOKIA'S FAMOUS CHURCH OF THE HOLY FAMILY

Although this photograph was taken in 1934 the church's appearance changed very little between the two restorations of 1913 and 1948. The modern siding, window sash, and metal roofing cover a heavy hewn frame of French carpentry.

incipal work,⁵⁹ and his widow, who was left in impoverished circumstances with a numerous family, was certainly in no position to buy one of the most substantial houses on the main street of Cahokia.

The building appears on the Hutchins map (c. 1769)⁶⁰ just west of the parade ground and facing the Rigolet, when it was occupied by Jean Roy *dit* Lapancé,⁶¹ probably as a private residence. It was enclosed with two smaller buildings on a standard-size lot about one *arpent* square and behind it lay an orchard of similar size. Another François Saucier,⁶² a

⁵⁹ In the fall of 1759 the masonry of the Fort de Chartres was still incomplete. Rochemore to ———, June 23, 1760. Paris, *Archives Nationales, Colonies*, C13A, 2: 118. These Paris references I owe to Mr. Sam Wilson, New Orleans architect.

⁶⁰ See June, 1949, *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, p. 200.

⁶¹ According to Alvord (*Cahokia Records*, p. 625 n. 13), the full name was Jean Roy *dit* Lapancé. He emigrated from Lachine, Canada, before 1752, when he married Marie Pancrasse at Cahokia.

⁶² For a discussion of the Illinois Sauciers see Belting, *Kaskaskia Under the Plow*, p. 29 n. 15.

leading Cahokian, some years later married into the Lapancé family and acquired title to the property.⁶³ In 1792, after the death of his wife, he sold off the rear, or orchard lot,⁶⁴ and three years later disposed of the house itself to the Cahokia Court of Common Pleas.

Northwest Territory had been subdivided for purposes of administration in 1790. The western part—the vast region between the Illinois and Ohio rivers—was designated as St. Clair County. The villages on the American Bottom were so far apart that for the convenience of the citizens attending court the new county was divided into three judicial districts—those of Cahokia, Prairie du Rocher, and Kaskaskia.⁶⁵

Not long afterward at Cahokia a "Town House" or "*maison de ville*" was bought for public use but was soon afterward exchanged for the Lapancé-Saucier house.⁶⁶ This was then "converted into a prison and Court House" under the authority of a territorial statute entitled "An Act directing the building and Establishing of a Court House, County Jail, Pillory, Whipping Post and Stocks in every County."⁶⁷

In 1795, when Randolph County (including Kaskaskia) was split off, Cahokia became the real seat of St. Clair County.

⁶³ John Hay, "Alphabetical List of Old French Sales, Inventories and Marriage Contracts," Perrin Collection, lists a marriage contract between Francois Saucier and "Jos. Lapencé" in 1780. In 1786 Saucier was already married to Angelique Lapensé who died the following year, aged twenty-five years. John F. McDermott, ed., *Old Cahokia* (St. Louis, 1949), 259-61.

⁶⁴ "Kaskaskia French and English Deed Record," A:152. The orchard was sold on Nov. 10, 1792, to Jean Dumoulin. The latter sold it to William Strong, Jan. 21, 1805, "Book of Deeds," B:292, whose son sold it to Francois Vaudry, Jan. 17, 1817, "Book of Deeds," B:227 thus reuniting the two lots.

⁶⁵ Smith, *St. Clair Papers*, II: 165 n.l., 172, 173.

⁶⁶ The cost of this acquisition seems to have been financed by a general subscription, to which the Michilimackinac Company made a substantial gift. Perrin Collection, "Minutes of the Court of Quarter Sessions, March 3, 1792." A bill in the Perrin Collection dated July 28, 1795, also speaks of the "Town House."

⁶⁷ St. Clair County Records, Deed Book A, 172, 173.

Gov. St. Clair in 1790 ordered a prison built at Cahokia and a subscription was taken for the purpose but nothing was done at the time. Carter, *Territorial Papers*, II:308. Brink, McDonough & Co., *History of St. Clair County, Illinois* (Philadelphia, 1881), 85. A grand jury report to the Cahokia Court of Quarter Sessions on October 4, 1791, recommended "That for the Support of the Laws & Government of our County the Speediest Means be taken to have a proper Jail in this Villiage, such as the State of this District may Afford in its present Situation." McDermott, *Old Cahokia*, 141.

Official records of this period show that six hundred mulberry pickets, seven and a half feet long, were ordered to repair the stockade around the courthouse lot and that there was a well on the premises.⁶⁸ In 1809 benches and a table were bought for \$15.⁶⁹ At first the jail was kept in the courthouse itself, but in 1812 a separate log structure was built on the same lot. A contract was let to François Turcott, Stephen Pensineau, and Augustine Pensineau for \$200.⁷⁰ Remarkably enough, no one seems to have left any further description of the courthouse in this period, even though after the year 1800 it was the center of government for a vast region extending to Canada and an administrative and judicial headquarters during the exciting days of the War of 1812.

When the county seat was moved to Belleville in 1814 the public furniture was hauled away⁷¹ and the old courthouse ordered sold.⁷² Early in 1816 John Hays, sheriff, transferred the property to François Vaudry⁷³ whose heirs passed it on

⁶⁸ A. S. Wilderman and A. A. Wilderman, *History of St. Clair County* (Chicago, 1907, Vol. II of Bateman and Selby, *Historical Encyclopedia of Illinois*), 700. The county had to pay damages for a colt that fell into the well.

⁶⁹ Brink, McDonough, *History of St. Clair County*, 81.

⁷⁰ Specifications for the building, which was completed October 1, 1812, were logs to be 18 and 14 feet long and wide, a partition in it so as to make a room of seven feet on the west, hewed logs, 8 inches thick for the floor, seven feet between the floors, 2 rounds of logs above the upper floor, to be covered with clapboards, cabin fashion, done well, the logs to be 12 inches in diameter at the small end, if hewed to be ten inches thick all to be done of good oak timber; the outer door hung as the old door and hinges will do; the roof to be weighted with heavy logs." Brink, McDonough, *History of St. Clair County*, 81.

⁷¹ George Blair was paid six dollars for hauling the benches, seats, and tables from the old to the new courthouse. *Ibid.*, 183.

⁷² "Ordered that the former Court House & Jail in Cahokia with the Lot of ground, be sold at Public Sale on Monday the 16th October next at one year's credit by giving good Security in a Bond . . . and the Sheriff to put up 2 advertisements one in Cahokia and one at this Courthouse." County Record Book, Sept. Term, 1815 (MSS, Belleville, Ill.).

⁷³ March 8, 1816, consideration, \$225, "Book of Deeds," C:226. There seems to have been some kind of scandal connected with this transaction. The County Court at the October term, 1817, noted that Sheriff Hays had sold the courthouse and jail "for a considerable sum of money, collected said money and rendered no account how or in what manner he has disposed of said money." They claimed that "some sort of thing had gone on for several years and decided to have him impeached. No further action appears in the record, however, and Hays remained in office while the judges did not.

to Joseph Robidoux of St. Louis in 1831.⁷⁴ The later use of the building is obscure but we know that in 1873 the old courthouse was a warehouse⁷⁵ and in 1881 a saloon.⁷⁶

With the passing of the years historical interest grew in the old building. As a curious specimen of early French architecture, it was sent to the World's Fair in St. Louis in 1904 and later moved to Jackson Park in Chicago.⁷⁷ In 1939-1940 such timbers as remained were brought back to Cahokia and re-erected on the original site.⁷⁸ Now open as a "historic house museum," it is one of the important relics of the French period, probably the only remaining example of a colonial house in Illinois.

A little more is known about the Church of the Holy Family, but there is a period of years when it cannot be shown that there was any church building at all in Cahokia. With the departure of Abbé Forget du Verger the mission had come to an end and all effective ties with Quebec were lost. It was twenty-three years before Father Paul de St. Pierre, represent-

⁷⁴ May 13, 1831, "Book of Deeds," H:1. Robidoux sold the property to Charles Mousette, April 24, 1834, "Book of Deeds," H:3. It was later acquired by George Lobenhofer, Sept. 7, 1857, "Book of Deeds," T-2: 382. I owe most of these conveyance references to Miss Boylan and to Mr. Henry C. G. Schroder, of Belleville.

⁷⁵ *Missouri Republican*, July 26, 1873.

⁷⁶ Smith, *St. Clair Papers*, 345n.

⁷⁷ A note by Valentine Smith on a photograph in the Missouri Historical Society states, "This building was erected . . . between 1704-12 . . . of squared walnut logs . . . It . . . was purchased from John Palmenier of Cahokia, Illinois by Alex. Cella of E. St. Louis to be exhibited during World's Fair. It now has a site waiting for it obtained from South Park Commissioners, on the Wooded Island, Jackson Park, Chicago, secured by the undersigned, who with the Chicago Historical Society and Chicago Centennial Committee, 1903, Chas. A. Plamondon, Chairman, wish to preserve it, in honor of the patriots who used it."

Mr. Cella wrote, Nov. 13, 1904, that he had "the documents from the first case that was held in the courthouse, benches, table and the old gavel that was used at that time." Scrapbook at the Chicago Historical Society Library, F37V.C. 11-1.

⁷⁸ While at Chicago the building was measured by the Historic American Buildings Survey, Earl Reed, district officer. The rebuilding at Cahokia was done by the Illinois Department of Public Works under the general supervision of Mr. Joseph F. Booton, and the field supervision of Mr. Jerome Ray. The writer served as architectural consultant.

The structure would have been impossible to reconstruct had not a couple of good photographs been available showing how it stood before the first moving. One of these appears on the cover of the March, 1949, issue of this *Journal*. By a careful analysis through projections, and an excavation of the site, working drawings were prepared. Many structural and other interior details were derived from a study of existing Ste Genevieve buildings of the eighteenth century.

ing the new Roman Catholic Church in America, came out from Baltimore and brought about a revival.⁷⁹ The Cahokians reported early in the summer of 1787 that the original sale of the church premises in 1763 had been declared null and void by the local court and that title to the property had thus come back to the parish.⁸⁰ Construction activity was soon under way.

For the purpose of lodging our *curé* we have begun by building a priest's house which has cost us almost five thousand *livres*. [They then state that the stone house] had been entirely ruined by the English and American troops who have lodged there. The defacements and injuries it had suffered during the time it was abandoned were such that there remains standing only the four walls, which can be repaired with much labor, for they are without a roof or roofing [*sans couvertures, combles*], floors and ceilings [*planchers*], and the chimneys have tumbled down; there are some fences on the land; the orchard has been so destroyed that there is left no vestige of it; all the other buildings have been destroyed even to the wells, which have been filled in.

We have decided to build a church of the ruins of this house, for our former wooden church has fallen and we are obliged to say mass in a rented

⁷⁹ Father Saint Pierre, at the request of the French Minister at Philadelphia and Bishop Carroll, came out to the Illinois country in 1785, when local records refer to him as *Curé* of Kaskaskia. He took charge of the Cahokia parish, July 20, 1786. In Sept. of 1787 he was serving the Spanish parish of Ste Genevieve until the Cahokia house was built or repaired and in 1789 he left the east bank permanently. McDermott, *Old Cahokia*, 259. Jones to Hamtramck, Oct. 29, 1789. Alvord *Kaskaskia Records*, 515.

⁸⁰ The church property had been sold by Father Forget du Verger to Jean Baptiste Lagrange, a merchant trader living in the Illinois country, on Nov. 5, 1763. Nothing is said about a church in the contract of sale. McDermott, *Old Cahokia*, 1-83. The stone house, some sixty feet in length, was then under construction and completed up to the roof, but Forget stopped building "at the moment of the sale." Meurin to Boiret, Kaskaskia, June 11, 1768, Clarence W. Alvord, *Trade and Politics, 1767-1769* (*Illinois Historical Collections*, XVI (Springfield, 1921), 313. Lagrange sold the property to Valentine Jautard on June 4, 1765. About three years later Jautard attempted to resell it to an Englishman, but Father Meurin, acting for the Bishop of Quebec, got the commandant to postpone the sale indefinitely. Meurin to Jautard, Kaskaskia, June 11, 1768. Reuben Gold Thwaites, ed., *Jesuit Relations, 1674-1773*, XXXI:37, 39.

The Hutchins map (*ca.* 1769) shows four buildings on the grounds as well as the orchard. The names of "Pier Du Main" and "Jean Batist sans Façon or armand" are keyed to two of the buildings and presumably represent the then occupants. No church is identified. On May 8, 1768, du Verger's house was reported roofless and some time later it was fortified for use by British troops. As we have seen, it was reoccupied by Americans in 1778 as "Fort Bowman." In 1781 it was ordered used as a prison by the Cahokia Court. Alvord, *Cahokia Records*, 95.

According to a note made by Lyman Draper (one page photostat in Map Division, Library of Congress, from Draper MSS, Wisconsin Historical Society, 5855) the du Verger stone house stood somewhat east of the present old frame church.

house. We have commenced to work on our projected church which will cost us more than fifteen or sixteen thousand *livres*.⁸¹

This was the present building, which was carried to completion in the following years and is now the only church structure remaining from the early days of the Illinois country. Indeed, it is probably the oldest still standing in the Mississippi Valley.⁸²

Just how Father St. Pierre and his wardens carried out this project we can only conjecture. Across the Mississippi several comparable churches were erected about this time,⁸³ the inhabitants in general furnishing the materials while the carpentry was let out for bids. That there was a church fund

⁸¹ Alvord, *Kaskaskia Records*, 563-64. The original (ASQ Missions no. 20) is cataloged as *Lettre des députés des habitants et marguilliers de la paroisse de St. Famille des Cabos au Supérieur du Séminaire de Québec*, 6 juin 1787. This letter indicates that the doors and window and their frames—as well as some boards—were saved from Forget du Verger's ruined house and used in the new church. The present structure, when recently opened, showed evidences of re-used parts from older buildings.

⁸² By comparison we might note the Cane Ridge Meeting House, a horizontal log structure near Paris, Bourbon County, Kentucky, built in 1791 (Edward L. Rines, *Old Historic Churches of America*, New York, 1936, p. 251), and the Cathedral built at New Orleans, 1792-1794. The latter, facing Jackson Park, the old *Place d'Armes*, was begun in 1792 (on the site of an earlier church destroyed by fire) and completed in 1794. A central bell tower was added to the main façade in 1824 from a design by Latrobe. In 1850 this tower fell, injuring the building which was thereupon much altered and enlarged at a cost of \$100,000. Another remodeling took place in 1881. T. P. Thompson, *The St. Louis Cathedral of New Orleans* (New Orleans, 1918). Mr. Richard Koch, district officer of the Historic American Buildings Survey in Louisiana, once told the writer that he doubted that any eighteenth-century materials remain in the structure.

⁸³ The comparable village churches of the region and period were:

St. Louis, 1775. Palisadoed construction, 30 feet by 60 feet with galleries. The specifications are preserved at the Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis.

Vincennes, 1786. Frame construction (*sur solles et en colombage*) on a stone foundation, 42 feet by 90 feet, plate height 17 feet. Gibault to Bishop of Quebec, June 6, 1786, Alvord, *Kaskaskia Records*, 536.

St. Charles, ca 1790. Oct. 30, 1789, the inhabitants of St. Charles (or Petite Côte) met at the house of Louis Blanchette, founder of the village, and agreed to erect a palisadoed church structure, 30 feet by 40 feet to be constructed the following spring. (MS, St. Charles Papers, Missouri Historical Society.) The agreement was carried out, for in 1791 the church was ordered blessed.

New Madrid, 1793. (Church of St. Isidore) Feb. 18, 1793, Jacob Myers agreed to build a church according to the plans provided. This was to be 26 feet by 6 feet, 16 feet plate height, of frame construction (*de colombage*) with board floor and ceilings and a pegged shingle roof. (MS, New Madrid Papers, Missouri Historical Society.)

Ste Genevieve, ca. 1794. Only fragments of documentary information and one door hinge have survived from this church. Its size is not known. See Charles L. Peterson, "Early Ste. Genevieve and Its Architecture," *Missouri Historical Review*, Vol. XXXV, no. 2 (Jan., 1941), 230, 231.

t Cahokia publicly supported we know from references to court fines imposed in its behalf: for instance, when Ignace Chatigny declared the village magistrates fools and was fined fifty *livres* for relieving his feelings⁸⁴ and likewise when François Saucier paid in six *piastres* for using insulting language while intoxicated and resisting arrest.⁸⁵ Masses for the dead constituted another source of revenue.⁸⁶ These funds were probably available for purchases of such imports as window glass. One tradition has it that two brothers by the name of Voudrie had the contract for the church construction, using timbers cut from the village commons, and that they were paid in cash, hides, and grain.⁸⁷

No doubt all the artisans of the village made their contributions in skilled labor. There were probably not many such workmen because the declining population of Cahokia had small need of house-builders. Yet we have the names of Clement Alarie (who also had the job of interior repairs on the priest's house),⁸⁸ Pierre Martin,⁸⁹ Michel Chartier,⁹⁰ Pierre Brisson,⁹¹ and Pierre Poupart *dit* La Fleur,⁹² all carpenters; Jerome Angot, joiner,⁹³ and Charles Lefevre, master blacksmith.⁹⁴

How much of the church was completed during Father St. Pierre's sojourn does not appear. He was succeeded in the fall of 1789 by Father Gibault, who stayed only two years.

⁸⁴ Alvord, *Cahokia Records*, 65 (1780).

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 399 (1789).

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 449. Tithes were collected for the support of the priests.

⁸⁷ Frederick Beuckman, *History of the Diocese of Belleville* (Belleville, Ill., 1914), The story was told by Louis LeCompte, who died in 1867 at the age of 88. The writer has no information on the identity of these brothers.

⁸⁸ Alvord, *Cahokia Records*, 249 (1786).

⁸⁹ Martin could not have been in too good standing with Father St. Pierre for the latter, in 1789, had to get court action to recover from Martin some joists which belonged to the church. *Ibid.*, 391, 393.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 235 (1786).

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 329 (1788).

⁹² St. Clair County Archives, Book of Deeds, A, 2-4. He died on July 15, 1790, aged 42 or 43 years, a native of Montreal. McDermott, *Old Cahokia*, 273.

⁹³ Kaskaskia French and English Deed Record B, 76 (1799).

⁹⁴ Alvord, *Cahokia Records*, 355 (1789). Kaskaskia French and English Deed Record A, 500 (1797). Lefevre had a lime kiln in 1784. Alvord, *Cahokia Records*, 5.

Although now remembered mostly as an American partisan during the Revolution, Gibault was also something of a church builder, having to his credit one at Vincennes (1786) and one at New Madrid (1793). Church historian Rothensteiner gives part of the credit for the Church of the Holy Family to Vicar General Levadoux, a Sulpician who was at Cahokia from 1792 to 1796.⁹⁵

Moses Austin, of Connecticut and Virginia, producer of lead and head of the family famous in Texas history, passed through Cahokia in 1797 and noted the church as "a French building and not large" dedicated to the Holy Family. Whenever the building was physically completed, it was not until September, 1799, that it was "solemnly blessed" by Father John Rivet of Vincennes under the name of the Good Shepherd.⁹⁷ An elaborate set of regulations for the wardens or *marguilliers* pertaining to the rent of pews, maintenance of the cemetery, and the handling of the secular affairs of the church was adopted at this time.⁹⁸

The building apparently did not take the weather very well and only ten years after its dedication the Trappist Guillet, to punish the villagers, refused to say mass in the church until the roof was rebuilt and the windows repaired.⁹⁹ In 1833 the two small side wings were added, one for a sacristy and one for an organ and choir. Father John Francis Regis Loisel, son of a prominent French family of St. Louis, soon afterward seems to have brought money to the church, for i

⁹⁵ John Rothensteiner, *History of the Archdiocese of St. Louis* (St. Louis, 1928) I:188.

⁹⁶ Moses Austin, "A Memorandum of M. Austin's Journey," *American Historical Review*, Vol. V, no. 3 (Apr., 1900), 534.

⁹⁷ Joseph P. Donnelly, *The Parish of the Holy Family, Cahokia, Illinois*, 169 (1949) (East St. Louis, 1949), 36. Both the names "Church of the Holy Family" and "Church of the Good Shepherd" seem to have been applied to the church at Cahokia in the first third of the nineteenth century. Catherine Schaefer, "A Chronology of Missions and Churches in Illinois," *Illinois Catholic Historical Review*, Vol. I, no. 1 (July, 1918), 104. The original name has prevailed in recent years.

⁹⁸ McDermott, *Old Cahokia*, 87-92.

⁹⁹ Guillet to Bishop of Quebec, Cahokia, Dec. 14, 1809. *Ibid.*, 291.

1837 it was fully repaired and freshly painted and in 1840 a wide lean-to against the rear was added.¹⁰⁰

When the new stone church in the Victorian Gothic style was dedicated in 1891¹⁰¹ the old church was relegated to use as a school and parish hall. Agitation for the preservation of the old structure for sentimental reasons, however, began shortly afterward,¹⁰² although nothing was accomplished until the Rev. Robert Hynes collected funds from all over the United States and completed a "restoration" in 1913. The exact nature of his work does not seem to have been recorded, except that electric lights were installed "thus bringing the interesting relic of the 18th century into remarkable touch with the achievements of the 20th."

By 1948 the old church had again become semi-ruinous and, with the idea of effecting a restoration, much of the modern work was torn off.¹⁰³ Some interesting discoveries were made. The oldest part of the existing church consists of a simple rectangle thirty-two feet by seventy-four feet and four inches,¹⁰⁴ entered at the north end. The wall construction is of massive vertical hewn timbers seven inches thick and ten to twelve inches wide, spaced about nine inches apart and braced diagonally at the corners. The edges of these posts were chan-

¹⁰⁰ Robert Hynes, "The Old Church at Cahokia," *Ill. Cath. Hist. Rev.*, Vol. I, no. 4 (Apr., 1919), 462. Dr. J. F. Snyder in the *Belleville Advocate*, July 23, 1908. Moisel was at Cahokia, 1836-1845.

¹⁰¹ Donnelly, *Parish of the Holy Family*, 58.

¹⁰² *Belleville Daily Advocate*, Nov. 3, 1904. Preliminary steps for its preservation were said to have been taken by Bishop Janssen a few years later. *Ibid.* July 3, 1908.

¹⁰³ A preliminary opening of the walls was done under the direction of the writer on Nov. 6, 1948, and many features were found then and since then which were not visible to the Historic American Buildings Survey measuring crew and do not appear on their drawings. The building was measured in 1934 under the direction of Edgar Lundeen, of Bloomington, district officer.

The restoration, begun soon afterward, was done under the supervision of Arthur Mueller and Guy Study, F. A. I. A., of St. Louis. Construction is by the Hercules Construction Company, Ed. Ross, foreman. Funds were generously provided by Joseph Desloge, of Florissant, Mo., and the Bishop of Belleville.

¹⁰⁴ These dimensions are similar to those of the du Verger *presbytère*, on the foundations of which it may rest. An archaeological exploration is proposed by which an underlying structure may be discovered.

nelled to receive a filling of lime and rubble or *pierrotage*,¹⁰⁵ a sample of which was still in place when the restoration work began. This type of wall construction, typically French, was common in Normandy and is found in Canada and in surviving houses of the Illinois country, such as the Bolduc House in Ste Genevieve and the Lamarque house at Old Mines, Missouri. The walls of the Cahokia church were not built vertical—they slope inward some five inches from bottom to top on all sides—another feature typical of the Illinois French carpentry.

The main entry of the church was a wide round-headed door in the north, or gable end, the original frame of which was found buried under later woodwork. In the gable above the door was a small round "*oeuil de bouc*" (*oeil-de-boeuf*) window,¹⁰⁶ the frame and hinge pintles of which were still in place. The original position of the main windows along each side had not been changed, although they had been somewhat enlarged for the placement of modern sash. Pintle holes from the original shutters were still present.¹⁰⁷ Altogether the effect was very similar to the architectural character of the old Canadian churches.

The small wings to the east and west were of lighter frame construction and not filled in with *pierrotage*, indicat-

¹⁰⁵ Peter Kalm's description of the old church at Baie St. Paul, on the St. Lawrence as it existed in 1749 shows it to have had the same type of wall construction. "The church is reckoned one of the most ancient in Canada . . . the walls are formed of timber, erected perpendicularly about two feet from each other, supporting the roof; between these pieces of timber, they have made the walls of the church of black slate." Peter Kalm, *Travels Into North America* (London, 1771), II: 483. The early Canadian wooden churches, once common, were in general replaced with stone structures in the eighteenth century. Ramsay Traquair, *The Old Architecture of Quebec* (Toronto, 1947), 135.

Discussions of early French types of construction used locally may be found in Charles E. Peterson, *Colonial St. Louis* (St. Louis, 1949), 19-24, 30-39, and "Early Ste Genevieve and Its Architecture," *Missouri Historical Review*, Vol. XXXV no. 2 (Jan., 1941), 217, 218.

¹⁰⁶ Traquair, *Old Architecture of Quebec*, 139. The contract for the wooden church in St. Louis (1775) called for one of these. The "*bouc*" instead of "*boeuf*" seems to have been an American colloquialism.

¹⁰⁷ Dovetailed (*en queue d'hironde*) shutters of the early French type may still be seen on the Bequet-Ribault house, Ste Genevieve. A single example was also found by the writer in the Bolduc house attic.

ing that they must always have been weatherboarded. They had, in 1948, arched ceilings of board and batten which appeared to be original.

While the floor framing under the church had been much disturbed some thick old floorboards, possibly of cottonwood, remained. There was also a board ceiling, probably replacing



FRENCH ROOF TRUSSES

Concealed by the ceiling boards of the Church of the Holy Family are these heavy trusses of characteristically French construction. They are similar to those found in many Canadian churches.

an earlier one of the same general type.¹⁰⁸ The roof is supported by some fine hewn French trusses with characteristic wind-bracing, all apparently original. To counteract the thrust of this roof construction, the sides of the walls were held together by long wooden cross-ties. During the restoration modern metal roofing was removed and evidence was found that the shingles had been originally hung with pegs over horizontally laid poles. Some hand-smoothed nailed oak shingles were also found in place.¹⁰⁹

Although Cahokia's French architecture made a poor impression on Yankee Moses Austin (he wrote that "there is not a building in the Place that can be called Elegant")¹¹⁰ he would probably have appreciated the brick mansion of Nicholas Jarrot, being of a more familiar type, had he come only two years later. Jarrot, a native of France, emigrated to the Illinois country in the 1790's, married there and settled down as a substantial merchant. He had a small store in Cahokia, traded annually on the Upper Mississippi, dabbled in milling, speculated in lands, held public office, and amassed a fortune. On February 25, 1799, Jarrot bought part of André Bequet's lot facing the Rigolet and across the street from the

¹⁰⁸ Professor Traquair shows sections through the naves of many Canadian examples (where the ceiling may be circular, elliptical, or coved) and in every case the trusses are hidden as structural parts not suitable for display.

Flagg's description of the old church at Kaskaskia is interesting in its entirety: "It is a huge old pile, extremely awkward and ungainly, with its projecting eaves its walls of hewn timber perpendicularly planted, and the interstices stuffed with mortar, with its quaint old-fashioned spire, and its dark storm-beaten casements. The interior of the edifice is somewhat imposing, notwithstanding the sombre hue of its walls; these are rudely plastered with lime, and decorated with a few dingy paintings. The floor is of loose, rough boards, and the ceiling arched with oaken panels." Edmund Flagg, *The Far West; or a Tour Beyond the Mountains*, reprinted Reuben Gold Thwaites, ed., *Early Western Travels* (Cleveland, 1906), XXVII: 62.

¹⁰⁹ The writer some years ago examined an original shingle from the Menard house at Kaskaskia, built about 1800. It was 17 inches long, 3½ inches wide, and ½ inch thick at the butt. The shingle was hand-smoothed, the butt was beveled, and the weather surface painted with an iron oxide paint. The species of wood was not identified.

¹¹⁰ *Am. Hist. Rev.*, Apr., 1900, p. 534. He called them badly built and out of repair.

new church.¹¹¹ It is believed that the house was built soon afterward, but nothing is known of the project in work. The central-hall with stairway, the Flemish bond front, and the woodwork, of which a surprising amount remains, are thoroughly Anglo-American in character and quite unrelated to the wooden French houses of the village.¹¹² It was the mansion of the period.

The three buildings described above were unusual in their time. About the less important houses of eighteenth-century Cahokia, few particulars are known. We must assume that they were similar to those of the neighboring villages, concerning which we possess a great deal of archival information in the form of building contracts, descriptions in sales, etc. Documents describing buildings are surprisingly rare for Cahokia. Judge Sidney Breese, who came to the Illinois country in 1818, left a description of the villages of the East Bank, and it seems to apply well enough to Cahokia:

The houses occupying their village lots were built in a very simple and unpretending style of architecture. Small timbers which the "commons" applied, roughly hewed and placed upright in the ground a few inches apart, formed the body,¹¹³ the interstices being filled with sticks, pieces of

¹¹¹ The lot was described as "*Une emplacement d'environ 60 pieds de profondeur situe au village de Cahos joignant a L Est a l'emplacement du dit vendeur au nord une Grande Rue de traverse qui separe le dit emplacement d'avec celui de acquerreur, au Couchant a une Rue de traverse qui separe de dit emplacement d'avec celui appartenant a l'Eglise de Cahokia et au sud a celui de Francois Grondine.*" St. Clair County records, Book of Deeds B, 253.

¹¹² According to one source, the house was completed in 1805. "It rests on members of black walnut with about two feet face, imbedded several feet under ground. These timbers rest on beds of charcoal, which are separated from the earth beneath by a layer of sand and gravel . . . The earthquake of 1811 only shook down two of the chimneys, and produced two small seams in the rear wall." Brink, McDonough, *St. Clair County*, 329.

Margaret E. Babb, "The Mansion House of Cahokia and Its Builder—Nicholas Jarrott," *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society for the Year 1924* (Springfield, 1924), 78-92, offers a life of Jarrott, mostly from secondary sources, with little about the design and construction of the house. Guy Study, "Oliver Parks restores the Jarrott Mansion at Cahokia," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, Vol. XXXVIII, no. 3 (Sept., 1945), 351-53, describes the rebuilding of the roof and cornice and repairs made to the building at that time.

¹¹³ The posts in the ground were generally of cedar or mulberry. John Reynolds, *Pioneer History of Illinois* (Belleville, 1850), 50. The three remaining houses of this type at Ste Genevieve have cedar posts. D'Artaguiette (1723) wrote that "the wood of the mulberry tree lasts for thirty years in the ground, without rotting." Hewton D. Mereness, *Travels in the American Colonies* (New York, 1916), 74.

stone and mud,¹¹⁴ neatly whitewashed within and without,¹¹⁵ with low eave and pointed roofs, covered with thatch,¹¹⁶ or with shingles fastened by wooden pins.¹¹⁷ Those of the wealthier class were of strong, well-hewed frames, in the same peculiar, though more finished style, or of rough limestone, with which the country abounded.

Galleries, or porches as they were called, protected them on every side from the sun and storms,¹¹⁸ while the apartments within were large, airy and convenient, with little furniture, but with well-scoured or neatly-waxed floors.¹¹⁹

The first type referred to by Breese was the commonest kind of house construction in the Illinois country villages. In precise terms it was the palisaded house (called in that day "*poteaux en terre*," literally "posts in ground") where the walls were built of timbers planted upright in the ground.¹²⁰ These are particularly subject to rot, and for that reason none remain on the bottoms east of the Mississippi.¹²¹ Two examples described in the Cahokia records were the Brisson and Thibault houses. The house of Alexis Brisson, who had to flee the country after beating up the widow Hanson, was a palisaded

¹¹⁴ According to Reynolds the filling was a "mortar made of common clay and cut straw." *Pioneer History*, 50. This was called *bousillage*. The other type of filling used, a mixture of broken limestone and lime was called *pierrotage*.

¹¹⁵ Most of the houses seem to have been plastered, inside and out, before whitewashing—which led many Easterners to mistake them for stone houses. Whitewash was known as "*eau de chaux*" or "*lait de chaux*" and was made from the local limestone.

¹¹⁶ Thatch, according to Reynolds, was "generally of straw, or long grass cut in the prairie." It "looked well and lasted longer than shingles." *Pioneer History*, 50. At Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin, the use of thatch continued by the French for some time and it was necessary to pass a fire ordinance against it in 1822.

¹¹⁷ Shingles (*bardeaux*), sawn or split, were used by the French in America from an early date. Charlevoix, writing from Canada in 1720, said "everything here is covered with shingles." Shingles hung by pegs called "*bardeaux à cheville*." In other cases they were nailed down with shingle nails "*cloux à bardeaux*." Reynolds wrote that shingles were mainly of white oak, and, when the roof was covered with pegged shingles the bottom course was nailed down. *Pioneer History*, 50.

¹¹⁸ The best houses were "surrounded with spacious galleries; some only on one or two sides, while the poorer class are obliged to put up with naked walls, and a poor habitation." Henry Marie Brackenridge, *Views of Louisiana* (Pittsburgh 1814), 119.

¹¹⁹ Sidney Breese, *The Early History of Illinois* (Chicago, 1884), 197.

¹²⁰ Judge Symmes wrote of these houses in Vincennes, "the logs do not lie horizontal as the Americans build, but stand erect with one end set well in the ground & the upper end spiked to or framed into a plate which runs horizontally round the house." Symmes to Robert Morris, Vincennes, June 22, 1790. Beverly W. Bond, Jr., ed., *The Correspondence of John Cleves Symmes* (New York, 1926) 288.

¹²¹ Three of these interesting houses still remain in Ste Genevieve, Missouri—the Bequet-Ribault, the Ammoreaux, and the St. Gemme Beauvais houses.

house about twenty-eight feet by forty-eight feet in size, with a *galerie* all around, and board floors and ceilings, the whole disposed in several rooms.¹²² The house of the widow Thabault was smaller, sixteen feet by twenty feet, covered with shingles and appraised at 300 *livres*.¹²³

The second type with "strong, well-hewed frames" was called by the French the "*poteaux sur sole*" house, literally "posts on sill" house. These were usually built on a stone foundation which kept the wooden frame above the damp soil. The sole surviving example at Cahokia is the Lapancé-Saucier house or Old Courthouse.¹²⁴ Of the stone masonry house, there were at least two examples—the large *presbytère* almost finished by Forget du Verger in 1763—and another under construction at Prairie du Pont by Antoine Girardin in 1790.¹²⁵ These have been missing for years.

The house of horizontal logs (called the "*maison de pièces sur pièces*"), while familiar in Canada and the Anglo-American colonies, did not appear commonly in the Illinois country until the end of the eighteenth century. Three Cahokia examples mentioned in the records are the house sold by Gabriel Cerré to LaPierre in 1781,¹²⁶ the headquarters of the Michilimackinac Company in 1788,¹²⁷ and the house sold by Nicolas Turgeon to Auguste Trottier in 1798.¹²⁸

¹²² Perrin Collection, inventory dated Aug. 7, 1788. There was also a thatched barn, about 30 by 50 feet of the same construction, as well as a horse mill and orchard.

¹²³ Perrin Collection, Record of sale June 8, 1789. Part of the same property was a barn of walnut timber 40 feet long and appraised at 250 *livres*.

¹²⁴ The Droitz house, demolished some years ago, was an example of this type, as was the small house of Mrs. Lucher on the present lot of the new brick schoolhouse, torn down in the memory of the writer. Good examples still standing are the Pierre Menard house at Kaskaskia, the Bolduc and Guibourd houses at Ste Genevieve, and the Lamarque house at Old Mines.

¹²⁵ Carter, *Territorial Papers*, II: 266. This house was built on a lot 300 feet square which also contained a water mill.

¹²⁶ Covered with shingles, had board floor and ceiling and a double chimney. Size of lot, 130 by 176 feet. Consideration 600 *livres* in deer hides or beaver skins. McDermott, *Old Cahokia*, 113, 114.

¹²⁷ About 20 by 40 feet including a wood-lined well (*puits de bois*), slave quarters, and a stable. The first bid at the auction was announced in advance as 500 *livres*. Perrin Collection, Jan. 14, 1788.

¹²⁸ This was 20 by 25 feet, board floor and ceiling, *galerie* all around, together with barn, 25 by 50 feet, and a court and garden. Kaskaskia French and English Deed Record A, 160.

The windows of these houses were of the hinged casement type and "had generally some glass in them." Doors were of "plain batton work, out of walnut mostly." Floors were mainly of split boards, or puncheons, because of the local sawmills failed to produce in quantity.¹²⁹ Henry Marie Brackenridge, who lived across the river and who was one of the most intelligent and literate observers of the early days, learned that the style of the houses was "copied after the fashion of the West Indies." In this he was referring to the low-lying character of the house with the wide porch roofs.¹³⁰ To top off the whole, a cross of wood was often placed on the comb of the ridge pole.¹³¹

The grounds about these houses had their own peculiar form of fencing. As in the other Illinois country villages, they were regularly enclosed with palisadoes on the boundary lines. John Reynolds makes reference to this custom:

Lots in ancient times were enclosed by cedar posts or picketts planted about two feet in the ground and about five feet above. These pickets were placed touching each other, so that a tight and safe fence was made around each proprietor's lot. The upper ends of the pickets were sharpened, so it was rather difficult to get over the fence. A neat gate was generally made in the fence, opposite to the door of the house, and the whole concern was generally kept clean and neat; so that their residences had the air of cleanliness and comfort.¹³²

A large corner wall section of the Chatillon log house, demolished in 1946, and believed to have been one of the oldest buildings in Prairie du Pont, is preserved in the architectural collection of the Jefferson National Expansion Memorial, St. Louis.

¹²⁹ Reynolds, *Pioneer History*, 50.

¹³⁰ H. M. Brackenridge, *Views of Louisiana*, 119. The Illinois country house basically had the mass of the Canadian house—one story high, floor level near the ground and a steep, hipped pavilion roof—with a West Indies or Louisiana porch wrapped around it. See Peterson, "Early Ste Genevieve," *Mo. Hist. Rev.*, Jan., 1941, p. 227. Reynolds noted that these houses had "no gable ends perpendicular." Of examples measured at Ste Genevieve, the end slope seems to have generally been about 70 degrees.

¹³¹ Reynolds, *Pioneer History*, 50.

¹³² Reynolds, *Pioneer History*, 51. "An Act regulating the Enclosures of Grounds" passed by the territorial legislature in 1791 required that walls and wooden fences be at least 4½ feet high and palisadoes not more than 3 inches apart. Theodore Calvin Pease, *Laws of the Northwest Territory*.

Brackenridge's descriptions of the enclosures of Ste Genevieve village lots is interesting in this connection: "The yard was enclosed with cedar pickets, eight or ten inches in diameter, and six feet high, sharpened at the tops, in the manner of a

The barns of Cahokia were often larger than the houses. In some cases they were built in the village and enclosed with the houses and other outbuildings. In others they were placed on the outskirts open to the commons. These barns, according to Reynolds, "were made of large cedar posts, put in the ground some two feet, and set apart four or five feet—the space between the posts was filled up with puncheons put in grooves in the posts, and the whole covered with a thatched roof."¹³³

J. F. Snyder remembered that as late as the period 1839-1844 "there were quite a number of very neat, and some elegant, residences in Cahokia, surrounded by fine, well-kept gardens, fruit orchards, abundant flowers, and all the domestic conveniences of that day."¹³⁴ In the latter year the greatest Mississippi River flood in history reached into the village. To those buildings which were not actually carried away, the worst damage, outside of a general soaking, would have been the melting of the mud in which much of the stone chimneys were laid and with which the frame walls were often filled. Time and neglect have since added their toll. What little is left is certainly worthy of the most zealous measures for preservation.

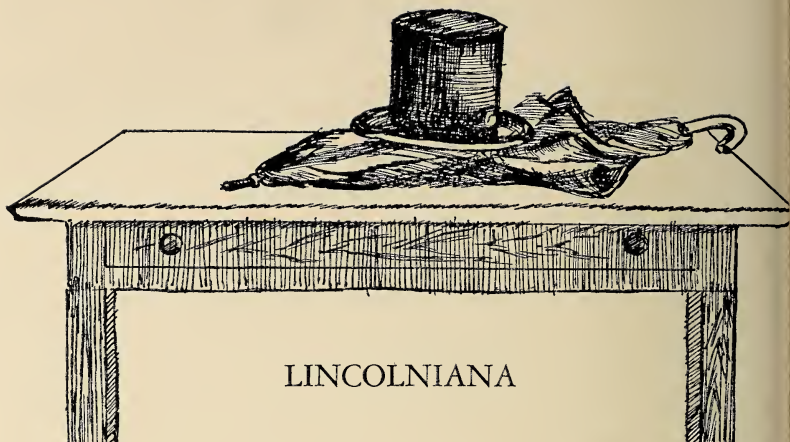


lockade fort. . . . The substantial and permanent character of these enclosures, is in singular contrast with the slight and temporary fences and palings of the Americans." Henry Marie Brackenridge, *Recollections of Persons and Places in the West* (Philadelphia, 1834), 24. At no time was Cahokia ever protected by a line of fortifications.

¹³³ John Reynolds, *My Own Times* (Belleville, Ill., 1855), 90. This seems to be what contemporary documents refer to as *poteaux canellées* construction. It is still to be seen in some old barns of French Canada.

¹³⁴ J. F. Snyder, "The Old French Towns of Illinois in 1839," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, Vol. XXXVI, no. 4 (Dec., 1943), 365-67.

Until two years ago a charming little classic Revival temple stood just across the street west of the old church. This was built in 1838 by Father John Francis Regis Loisel. After Loisel's death in 1845 it was used alternately for a school and priest's home. Beuckman, *Diocese of Belleville*, 9. Before its unfortunate demolition this building was recorded by the Historic American Buildings Survey.



LINCOLNIANA

WHEN WERE THE *DEBATES* FIRST PUBLISHED?

One of the common "rare books" which every collector owns, and never reads, is entitled *Political Debates Between Hon. Abraham Lincoln and Hon. Stephen A. Douglas*. The book has more than antiquarian interest, for its publication was an element in the election of Abraham Lincoln. Its date of publication has been disputed—one authority maintaining that "in the absence of proof to the contrary it would appear that but a few, if any, copies of the *Debates* were sold before the nomination."¹ This is important, for if the volume was unavailable it had no influence in Lincoln's nomination. Therefore, the portion of a contemporary newspaper reproduced on the opposite page becomes historically significant, and it certainly refutes the allegation that the debates had little

or no circulation prior to May 1, 1860, when Lincoln was nominated.

The Lincoln-Douglas debates two years before Lincoln's nomination are usually conceded to have been the beginning of Lincoln's sure and rapid rise to the Presidency. They gave him a national reputation, and his statements in 1858 became his platform during the campaign of 1860. Lincoln's political backers realized the importance of publishing his principles some time prior to the convention in May, 1860, which nominated the Rail Splitter. Lincoln himself seems to have believed that the publication would help his nomination, but as has been said, there has been some question as to whether such early publication occurred.

We know definitely that the publishers, Follett, Foster and Company,

¹ Ernest J. Wessen, "Debates of Lincoln and Douglas," *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, Vol. XL (Second Quarter, 1946), 102.

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THE WEEKLY GLOBE.

Local and Literary Intelligence.

THURSDAY, APRIL 26, 1860.

PASSENGER TRAINS PASS LEXINGTON,
on the ST. L., A. & C. RAILROAD.
Express Mail. Night Express.
Going S., 2:00, P. M. | Going S., 2:10 A. M.
Going N., 2:43 P. M. | Going N., 1:29, P. M.

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We neglected, in our last issue, to tender our thanks to that sprightly little Miss, who presented us with a very fine cake, a few days since. It was a delicious treat.

COME AT LAST.—That mammoth show so favorably known in both the old and the new worlds, has left an appointment to meet the people of Lexington on the 7th day of May, 1860, on the Public Square.

ELEPHANT.—Take a peep at him! Oh, no don't!—he is not there yet, but he will be on hand soon. GRAY's advertisement appears in our columns to-day. Read it, and if you doubt that Gray sells cheap goods go and see him. Remember the sign of the Elephant, west side court house square, Bloomington, Illinois.

DR. HOBBS, clerk of McLean county Court will accept our thanks for a copy of the *Debates* between Douglas and Lincoln, in the campaign of 1858. It is a valuable work,—embodying the principles of each of the two great champions of the north-west, in such a manner as to furnish a convenient and valuable book of reference.

ATHLETICS.—There are a few of the young

EVIDENCE OF EARLY PUBLICATION OF THE *Debates*

This clipping is from *The Weekly Globe* of Lexington, Illinois, dated April 26, 1860—more than three weeks before Lincoln was nominated for the Presidency. The fifth paragraph in the right-hand column acknowledges receipt of the Lincoln-Douglas *Debates* book. The *Journal* is indebted to Mr. Elmer T. Claggett, Lexington librarian, for a photostat of this paper.

of Columbus, Ohio, had the manuscript long before the May convention for a letter from Lincoln dated December 19, 1859, states that the copy was being sent them by express. We also have a statement from the publishers in the middle of the summer of 1860 that the books appeared "early in March." Furthermore, the *Ohio State Journal*, a paper in Follett, Foster's home town, announced the *Debates* to be "now published" and for sale on March 20, 1860. In May the publishers announced that the book was appearing in a fourth edition. All of the above would seem to be very good evidence for believing that the book appeared well in advance of Lincoln's nomination on May 18—but there is another side to the story.

It has been pointed out that the *Ohio State Journal* announcement is not conclusive evidence of fact. On February 25, 1860, the *Chicago Press and Tribune* made a similar statement alleging that the *Debates* "have just been published." Yet an advertisement in the same paper offers to take prepublication orders for the book due in March. Obviously, then, an announcement in the paper that the work was "now published" cannot always be relied upon. The further statement of the publishers' that a fourth edition was published in May has been dismissed also as "trade puffery" to make the volume appear popular.

Another statement of the publish-

ers' that the work appeared "early in March" has been argued away also. The keystone to this last disputation is Lincoln's rival, Stephen A. Douglas. The Little Giant, as he was called, did not protest publication of the *Debates* until June 9, 1860. Had the book appeared much earlier, surely this argument goes, Douglas would surely have complained earlier. After he did complain the publishers would certainly gain a point and expose Douglas to further criticism by pushing back the date of publication into March and thus make Douglas unduly tardy. Such a line of argument is extremely tenuous but it is strengthened by the negative evidence that copies of the *Debates* did not seem to have been used against Douglas in Charleston during the Democratic convention in April.

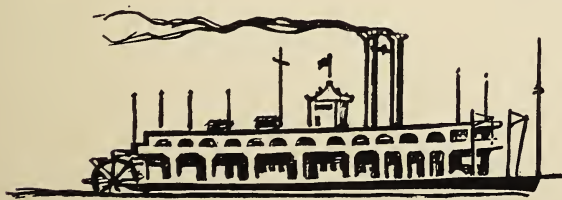
The entire argument against early publication is ingenious, to say the least, but as the circumstantial evidence accumulates it begins to appear more and more convincing. For this reason the copy of the newspaper reproduced herewith holds extraordinary interest. Regardless of the fact that none of the big city newspapers contains unimpeachable evidence concerning the date of the first appearance of the *Debates* in March or April, it can no longer be assumed that the book had not been published. Certainly one copy had reached the little town of Lexington almost a month before Lincoln's nomination in Chicago. Therefore, the statements of

the publishers of the *Debates* which have been discounted as "puffery" seem now to deserve more consideration than they have always received. Moreover, it also seems reasonably certain that the *Debates* were a part of the campaign literature for Lincoln's nomination, and not exclusively a publication for the presidential race afterwards.

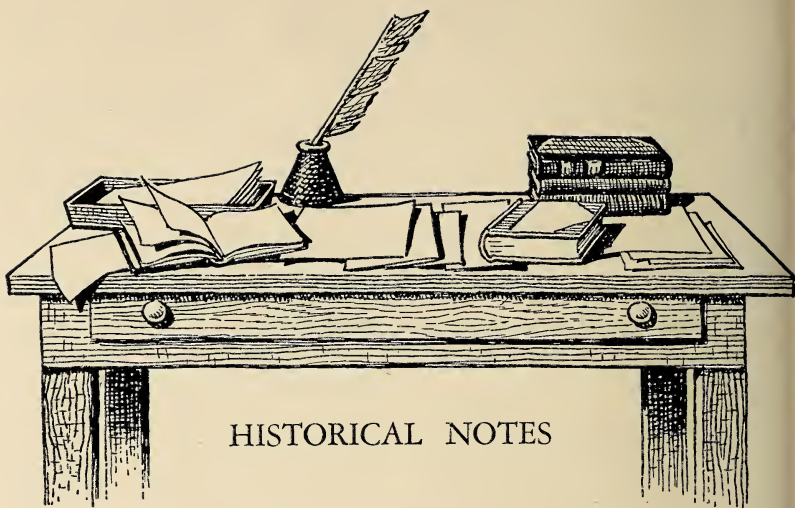
The Dr. William C. Hobbs referred to in the *Lexington Globe* was a man of parts. For four years he taught school in Bloomington, emphasizing always the importance of social graces. While other citizens dressed in blue jeans and linsey-woolsey Dr. Hobbs wore broadcloth,

a silk hat, and immaculate linen. In Bloomington he became the sole authority upon every social question. A wedding, we are told, was hardly considered valid unless he planned the details and then gave his presence to the occasion. Prior to Lincoln's nomination he is said to have opposed the Rail Splitter on account of his lack of the courtly style and dignity requisite for high office. Dr. Hobbs never married, but devoted his life and purse to worthy cultural objectives. He died February 10, 1861, leaving, according to the record, "no enemies, a good many debts, and twenty-seven satin vests."²

JAY MONAGHAN.



² James S. Ewing, "A Citizen of No Mean City," *Transactions of the McLean County Historical Society*, Vol. II (Bloomington, Ill., 1903), 550.



HISTORICAL NOTES

FIRE MARKS IN ILLINOIS

Have you ever noticed the small metal plates above the doors of some of the older houses in southern Illinois or in the towns along the Ohio or Mississippi rivers? They are from five to nine inches wide, two to five inches high, and are usually rectangular, although some are rounded and others are diamond-shaped. Sometimes they will contain several words in raised lettering but on many the legend is simply "Forest City," "Phenix," "Freeport," "German," "American," "Aetna," or "Home, New York." These are the "Fire Marks" of the early fire insurance companies, and their presence indicates that a house is more than three quarters of a century old because they were discontinued around 1870.

The origin and use of these Fire Marks makes an interesting story which is told in a booklet entitled *American Fire Marks*, published in

1933 by the Insurance Company of North America. Shortly after 1680 according to this booklet, the first fire fighting organization was formed in London by the Fire Office, as the first fire insurance company was known. It was created, of course to protect property insured by the Office, and in order that its members might distinguish insured from uninsured buildings the use of the Fire Mark was adopted. The first one was a lead plate in the form of a phoenix rising from the flames, and it was nailed up in a prominent place, out of the reach of pilferers, on the front of all buildings insured by the Office.

When other companies entered the insurance field they organized their own fire fighters and had their own Fire Marks. All brigades would respond to all fire alarms but when they arrived only the one whose Fire Mark was on the building would go

to work putting out the blaze. The others would either go home or stand round and kibitz.

All of London's early Fire Marks were made of lead, brilliantly painted, and usually with the policy number stamped on them. Since the amount of a policy rarely exceeded 1,500 pounds sterling it was not uncommon for a building to be insured by half a dozen companies and to display as many Fire Marks. This trend finally resulted in a unification of the city's fire brigades in 1833 and then, in 1866, this company became the Metropolitan Fire Brigade of London."

In America bucket brigades were in use as early as 1696, and in 1735 Benjamin Franklin and several other Philadelphians formed the first fire brigade which, as the Union Fire

Company, continued for more than eighty years. By 1752 there were six companies in Philadelphia, with a total membership of 225 men who used eight engines, 1,055 buckets, and thirty-six ladders. These companies were organized simply to fight fires and no Fire Marks were used. But in 1752 the first fire insurance company was formed. It was the Philadelphia Contributorship for the Insurance of Houses from Loss by Fire, and Franklin was also one of its leading organizers. Soon after it was formed the company placed an order for Fire Marks. Others companies came later and they also had their Marks. However, these firms did not form their own fire brigades but relied on the fire companies already in existence. Thus the American Fire Mark had a different use from those



FIRE MARK OF A SPRINGFIELD COMPANY

This plate, four by seven inches in size, was found on the one-and-a-half story brick home of C. H. Rippelmeyer at Waterloo, Illinois. The Sangamo company ceased doing business between 1869 and 1894.

in London: it was intended to discourage malicious arson by showing that the owner would not suffer a loss from the fire, and it guaranteed that the fire brigade would be rewarded for its efforts in extinguishing a blaze.

Great rivalry was stirred up among the volunteer fire companies by the higher and more certain compensation offered by the insurance companies. The first one at the scene of the blaze had the right of way and the others could not share in the honors or rewards unless they were asked for aid. Usually the first arrival would rather lose to the fire than part with any of the expected

compensation. In the case of a tie there would likely be fisticuffs and bloody noses—while the fire burned away. However, if the house bore no Fire Mark all the brigades turned their backs and let it burn.

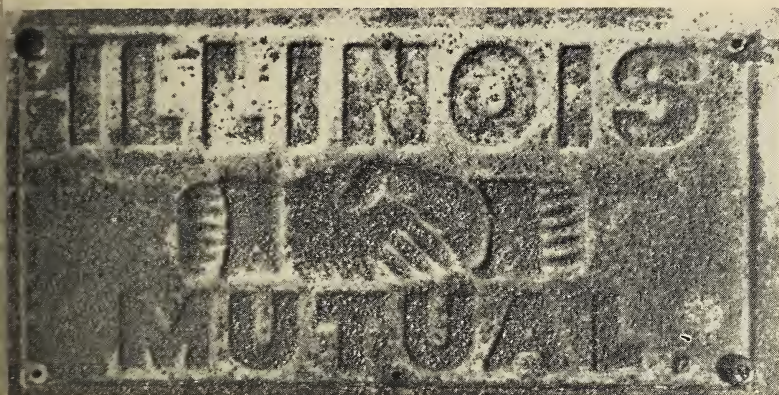
In 1858, Chicago started a paid fire department and about that time the old Fire Marks began to lose their significance. However, a number of companies continued to issue tin plates bearing their trade marks to advertise their service in rural areas.

In 1870, just before Fire Mark became obsolete, there were 113 fire insurance firms operating in Illinois



FROM A JERSEY COUNTY STORE

The Sterling firm was one of the "companies ... organized under special charters, ... [which] were consigned to the tomb of the 'Capulets' before supervision of insurance companies was required by the law of this State," according to the report of the Illinois state insurance department of March 1, 1894. This mark is from a three-room frame store owned by Wheaton Brothers at Fieldon, Illinois. It is seven and a half inches wide and four and a half inches high.



A BIG COMPANY WITH A BIG MARK

One of the largest in the collection of Insuranceman Milton Babcock, is Fire Mark measures eight and one-quarter by four and one-half inches. was issued by an Alton, Illinois, company which at one time had assets \$318,269, or more than the average for firms of its period. This company also had ceased doing business by 1894. The Mark was taken from the one-and-a-half story brick home of John Ries at Columbia, Illinois.

Twenty-eight were Illinois companies and of these sixteen were located in Chicago, three in Freeport, two each in Rockford and Alton, and one each in Springfield, Bloomington, Beardstown, Quincy, and Aurora. Today not one of these Illinois companies is in existence—they either failed, ceased operating, or were absorbed by larger companies, usually in the state.

The Fire Marks of a number of these companies can be seen occasionally on the old houses in many Illinois towns. The writer is an in-

surance field man and has made a hobby of collecting Fire Marks. He has begged and bought them from householders in all parts of the state. Many of the houses had interesting histories and Lincoln is said to have stopped at some of them.

This collection of thirty-three Illinois Fire Marks is on display at the Illinois State Historical Library. Each is identified with the location and description of the house from which it was taken.

MILTON BABCOCK,
Lovington, Illinois.



ILLINOIS SCRAPBOOK

THE MONKS OF MONKS' MOUND

During the French Revolution a community of monks of the order of La Trappe, emigrated from a place of the same name near Paris, into the Grugeres Alps, from whence they sent a colony to Amsterdam, who finding that the French motto of "Liberty, Equality and Fraternity," extended ever there, and threatened the Country with the doctrines of Atheism, then pervading in France, they determined on seeking an asylum in the United States. Arriving in Baltimore after a tedious voyage, much reduced by starvation they were hospitably entertained by Archbishop Carroll and Dr. Chatard, who administered to them everything necessary to their comfort. They sought for a while a resting place in Pennsylvania, from whence they went to Kentucky and located on a farm, and after a short residence there, and losing their stock and crops by a freshet, they removed to Florissant, near St. Louis where they remained about eighteen months, and finally located at the mounds, on the American bottom, in Illinois, in 1807.

A large tract of land was donated to them, and they soon had nearly one hundred acres inclosed and cultivated, and well stocked, with horses and cattle. They erected a horse-mill, and several log cabins for dwellings and work shops, and also, a church of logs. Of their buildings there is now scarcely a vestige remaining. Their design was, to educate youth, in all the branches of Literature, Agriculture, and the Mechanic Arts, on gratuitous terms. A number of pupils from the neighboring towns resorted to them for instruction, some of whom, are now among the most accomplished merchants and artizans, in the western country.

The first discovery of coal in the bluffs, was made by these monks in one of the mines from which St. Louis is in a great part supplied. Their



MONKS' MOUND, AT THE RIGHT, AS IT APPEARED A HUNDRED YEARS AGO

J. C. Wild's drawing for *The Valley of the Mississippi*, published in 1841.

blacksmiths complained of a want of proper fuel, and on their being informed that the earth, at the root of a tree, which was struck by lightning was burning, they went to the spot, and on digging a little below the surface discovered a vein of coal.

The number, that originally came to this country, consisted of six monks and seven lay-brothers, under the paternal guidance of the Rev. Urban Guille. It was however increased by additions from France and from different parts of the United States to thirty-six persons in all. Every thing seemed prosperous and happy about them, when suddenly they were assailed with a malignant fever, which carried off three of their number in one night. The country around them continuing unhealthy, in 1816 those remaining broke up the establishment, re-conveyed the land to Mr. Jarrot, the donator, and returned to France.

During their residence at the mounds, the monks pursued the same system of austerity instituted at La Trappe, by John le Bouthillier de Ranc, the rigid Reformer of the Cistercian order. No one was ever allowed to speak to another, or to a stranger, except in cases of absolute necessity; neither could he address the superior, without first asking his permission, to do so, and receiving his assent. They were allowed to receive no letters or news from the world, and were compelled to obey the least sign made even by the lowest lay-brother in the community, although by doing so they might spoil whatever they were at the time engaged in. Their dress consisted entirely of woollen; they eat no flesh, and had but two meals a-day; their dinner was of soup of turnips, carrots and other vegetables, with no seasoning but salt, and their supper, of two ounces of bread with water. They slept in their clothing upon boards, with blocks of wood for pillow, but in winter were allowed any quantity of covering they desired. When a stranger visited them, he was received with the utmost kindness by the guest-master, his wants attended to, and every thing freely shown and explained to him, and whenever he passed one of the monks, the latter bowed humbly to him, but without looking at him. They labored all day in the fields or in their work shops in the most profound silence, the injunction of which was removed, only from the one appointed to receive visitors, and those engaged in imparting instruction.

When one of them was taken ill, the rigor of their discipline was entirely relaxed towards him, and every attention and comfort bestowed upon him, and if he was about to die, when in his last agonies, he was placed upon a board, on which the superior had previously made the sign of the cross, with ashes, and the rest gathered around him to console and pray for him. The dead were wrapped in their ordinary habit and buried without

coffin in the field adjoining their residence. As soon as one was buried, a new grave was opened by his side, to be ready for the next who might need it. About twenty-five years have elapsed since these austere fathers abandoned the mounds, but the older inhabitants of the neighborhood, still speak of their many acts of kindness and charity, and cherish their memories with the most filial affection.

J. C. WILD, *The Valley of the Mississippi* (St. Louis, 1841), 54-56.

BIG-THUNDER AND THE SURGEON

A curious fact was mentioned to me, as having occurred in this prairie between Galena and Racine, but over in the region of the Rock river, about 12 miles distant from that stream, and it was corroborated by so many persons who had passed by the spot on which it occurred, that I have no doubt of its truth. It appears that an Indian Chief of the Chippeways, named Big-Thunder, being in the region of the Rock river, and aware of his approaching death, from old age, as well as disease, selected a small swelling eminence in the prairie, on which he desired to be placed after his death, according to the custom of the tribe of which he was the head.

This request was soon after complied with, the warrior being dressed, after his death, in his best robes and skins, his face painted, and his hair done up as if going forth on a war-expedition; his eagle's feathers in his head, his collar of the claws of the grisly bear around his neck, the scalps he had taken in battle hanging from his girdle, his quiver of arrows at his back, and his bow in one hand, and tomahawk in the other. Thus attired, the old Chief was seated in a chair, and placed on the eminence selected by himself, looking over the prairie. To protect his dead body, however, from being carried off and devoured by the wolves, the tribe erected around him a stockade, sufficiently high to keep them off, without preventing the body from being seen, or interrupting the view from the eminence. The extreme dryness of the atmosphere prevented putrefaction; and the body therefore remained, shrivelled and dried up by the sun and wind, but the form and features were distinctly preserved.

Some months after the body of this Chief was placed in the position described, some of the tribe passing by were horror-stricken at finding that the headless trunk of their venerated Chief alone remained, the head having been cut off at the neck by some sharp instrument, and removed. The whole tribe were inflamed with indignation at this outrage, and thought it must have been some of their Indian enemies who had done the deed. But

it was subsequently ascertained that it was the work of a white man, a surgeon, whose passion for phrenology overcame his scruples at mangling the dead and insulting the living, and who had gone, like a robber, in the dead of the night, to commit this sacrilegious violation of rights which even the savage respects. Fortunately for himself, the fact became known first to his friends, who were enabled to conceal it long enough to allow of his removal, or probably summary vengeance would have been executed by the Indians on his own person.

J. S. BUCKINGHAM, *The Eastern and Western States of America* (London, 1842), III:289-91.

SINGULAR SIEGE AT KASKASKIA

It was in this settlement, [on the east side of the Kaskaskia River, not far from the old town of Kaskaskia] in the early part of the spring of 1780 that a most singular battle and siege occurred. David Pagon, one of Clark's men, had made a house two miles from Kaskaskia, and had finished it in a strong and substantial manner, so as to withstand an Indian attack. Levi Teel and James Curry, also two of Clark's soldiers, had been out hunting on the east side of the river and had encamped in this house for the night. The door of the house had three bars across it, to secure it against Indian assault and in the door was a hole cut for the cat to go in and out.

Toward day, Curry informed Teel that there were Indians about the house and that they must fix up their guns for defence. Teel was rather inclined to open the door and give up as prisoners, while Curry would not listen to it at all. Teel went to the door to either open it or to make discoveries and stood with his foot near the cat hole. The Indians outside stuck a spear thro his foot and fastened him to the floor. The Indians, in their war expeditions, always carry spears with them. By a kind of instinct Teel put his hand to the spear to draw it out of his foot and other spears were stuck in his hand. They cut and mangled his hand in a shocking manner; so that he was not only nailed to the floor of the house, but his hand was rendered useless.

It was ascertained afterward that it was the Piankeshaw Indians and there were sixteen in the band. Curry was an extraordinary man; brave to desperation and inured to broil and feats of battle until he was always cool and prepared. He jumped up in the loft of the house to drive the enemy off before Teel would open the door and by a small crevice in the roof, he put his gun out and shot into the crowd of Indians. He shot three times with great rapidity, for fear Teel would open the door. It was discovered

afterward from the Indians that Curry had killed three warriors. He then got down to see what Teel was about and found him transfixcd to the floor, as above stated. He then got up again in the loft and tumbled the whole roof, weight-poles and all, down on the Indians standing at the door with spears in their hands. It will be recollected that in olden times the roofs of cabins were made with weight-poles on the boards, to keep them down. The pioneers used no nails as they do at this day.

The roof falling on the enemy killed the chief and the others ran off. Day was breaking, which assisted also to disperse the Indians. Curry took both guns and made Teel walk altho he was almost exhausted on account of the loss of blood. They had a hill to walk up at the start, which fatigued Teel and he gave out before they reached Kaskaskia altho they had two miles to travel. Curry left Teel and went to Kaskaskia for help and at last saved himself and comrade from death.

To my knowledge, the houses in times of Indian wars were fixed so the roofs could be thrown down on the enemy and sometimes large round timbers were laid on the tops of the houses on purpose to roll off on the Indians below.

JOHN REYNOLDS, *Pioneer History of Illinois* (1887), 340-41.

PRAIRIE PURGATORY TO PARADISE

While we were opposite to this mound of Mount Joliet, and within a few yards of its base, we were exposed to the fury of one of the most violent thunderstorms that we had experienced in the country. Those we had witnessed when ascending the mountain of Catskill, on the Hudson river, were grand; and several off Cape Hatteras, on the voyage from New York to Charleston by sea, were fearful. The latest and loudest we had encountered was at Louisville, on the Ohio. But neither of these equalled, in the loud crashes of the thunder, the intense vividness of the forked lightning, or the heavy deluge of descending rain, this storm on the prairie. The absence of all shelter occasioned us to be of course the more exposed to its merciless fury, and it literally *ragcd* with the force and violence of a typhoon or a hurricane. The horses were terrified into perfect stillness; the driver resigned his reins and quitted his seat, to hide beneath the lee of the coach; and the passengers were all mute and grave, from a feeling approaching very near to horror.

The resistless blast swept by like a tornado, and there was no facing the tempest and keeping the eyes open. Ten thousand pieces of the largest

artillery all discharged at the same moment, could not have shaken the atmosphere so violently, or have been more deafening, than the crashes and rattlings of the thunder, peal succeeding peal, in almost continuous succession; while the intervals between the flashes of lightning wore the darkness of a total eclipse; and the rain, when the lightning glared forth again, seemed like a white smoking mist or foam, chafed into collision, and scattered into spray, by the rapidity of its almost horizontal motion. We all rejoiced most heartily when it began to abate, and we enjoyed the bright sunshine that succeeded, with a new zest; but unfortunately, the prairie, already too moist in all its hollows or depressions, now presented the aspect of so many small lakes, through which it was necessary to wade with great caution to prevent a repetition of the detention which had before befallen us. . . .

It was midnight when we reached the last stage for our changing horse before we should arrive at Chicago, the distance being 12 miles; but here it was thought necessary to change coaches also, and accordingly all the discomfort of re-loading had to be repeated. The object of changing the coach was to give us a much heavier vehicle, with broad wheels like a waggon as the road was said to be so much worse between this and Chicago, than on any part of the route, that a narrow wheel would sink up beyond the axle and only very broad ones could sustain us. While this change of coaches was making, we had to wait in the bar-room of one of the most filthy and wretched houses we had yet seen, in which the smell of rum and tobacco mingled with other powerfully disagreeable odours, was most offensive; the hideous-looking bar-keeper appeared like a man who never washed or combed, and none of whose garments had ever been changed since he had first put them on;—altogether nothing could be more revolting.

To add to our discomforts, the place at which we halted, seemed to be the head-quarters of the mosquito tribe; they kept our hands and handkerchiefs in constant motion; and yet they evaded both, so as to cover the face of most of the parties with large pustules from their bites. They were the largest and most venomous I had ever seen; and the sultriness of the night, the closeness of the place, and the filth of the room in which we were staying, seemed to give them new vigour. I went into the open air, hoping for some relief, but met as large a legion of them without as within, and found there was no escape from their tormenting attacks. One of our Western passengers declared that in a part of the prairie from which he had come they were so thick that if you held out your naked arm straight for a few minutes, so as to allow them to settle on it, they would be followed by such a cloud of others hovering round them, that if you suddenly drew in your arm, you would perceive a clear hole left in the cloud, by the space which

the arm had occupied! But the Western people delight in these exaggerated figures; for in the course of the night, one of them remarked, on the comparative speed of two boats on the Illinois river, that one of them would go faster while she was standing still, than the other with all her steam on; and the driver, who was dissatisfied with the dulness of the lamps prepared for our last stage of the journey, exclaimed, "Well, if we can only rig out two more such lamps as these, we shall be pretty near to total darkness. . . ."

When daylight opened upon us, we obtained a distant sight of the white houses of Chicago, a long way off, on the plain; but, distant as they still seemed, never did weary mariner hail the first opening of the harbour, into which he was running to escape shipwreck or storm, with more joy than did we welcome these first tokens of our approach to a place of rest. It was past sunrise before we reached the town, having been 6 hours coming the last 12 miles, and 40 hours performing the whole journey of 96 miles. But we found delightful quarters in the excellent hotel of the Lake House, and what was still better, the cordial greetings and welcome of former friends, whom we had known at Baltimore and Washington, and we felt ourselves, therefore, by the contrast, in Elysium.

J. S. BUCKINGHAM, *The Eastern and Western States of America* (London, 1842), III:248-49; 250-52; 255.





BOOK REVIEWS

A Cycle of the West. By John G. Neihardt. (The Macmillan Company
New York, 1949. Pp. 656. \$5.00.)

While John G. Neihardt has been widely acclaimed as a poet, Indian historian, critic, and lecturer, he is too little identified with his native state of Illinois. The publication of this one-volume collection of his five narrative poems of the West is an excellent occasion for calling attention to his birth in 1881 near Sharpsburg, in Christian County. If members of the Illinois State Historical Society in Taylorville, Pana, and the towns in the area would like a suggestion, it is that they plan a way to honor this distinguished son of their county in connection with the fulfillment of a task which he undertook in 1912—when he was thirty-one years old.

As a small boy, John Neihardt went to live with his pioneering grandparents on the great plains of northwestern Kansas. Soon the family moved to Wayne, Nebraska, which was even more western in its life. He worked his way in Nebraska Normal College, Wayne, but even so completed his course at sixteen. In succession he was a farm hand, schoolteacher, bookkeeper, beet weeder, and marble-polisher. Then his family moved to Barcroft, also in Nebraska, on the edge of an Omaha Indian reservation.

This change was a turning point in young Neihardt's life. He became assistant to the Indian agent and before he knew it had begun to collect Indian stories, tales, and songs. He began to see the exploits of discovery, exploration, and settlement of the area west of the Missouri River as a genuine epic period. Then he dreamed out a series of heroic songs, "designed to celebrate the great mood of courage." The pioneering of the nineteenth century he found "differing in no essential from the other great epic period

that marked the advance of the Indo-European peoples out of Asia and across Europe."

The period covered in the five-song epic cycle begins in 1822 with the descent of General Ashley and Major Henry and their fur trappers to the Beaver country of the upper Missouri. It closes at the Battle of Wounded Knee in 1890, with which Indian resistance on the plains came to an end. The five songs are, in order in the chronology of the cycle: "The Song of the Three Friends" (1919), "The Song of Hugh Glass" (1915), "The Song of Red Smith" (1941), "The Song of the Indian Wars" (1925), and "The Song of the Messiah" (1935). Episodes related include such themes as the first camp of Americans to the Great Salt Lake, "the last great fight for the bison pastures," and "the conquered people and the worldly end of their last great dream."

By way of establishing his fitness for the task of writing these heroic poems, this native of Illinois says in his introduction:

My maternal grandparents were covered-wagon people, and at the age of five I was living with them in a sod house on the upper Solomon. The buffalo had vanished from the country only a few years before, and the signs of them were everywhere. I have helped, as a little boy could, in "picking cow-hips" for winter fuel. If I write of hot winds and grasshoppers, of prairie fires and blizzards, of dawns and moons and sunsets and nights, of brooding heat and thunderstorms in vast lands, I knew them early. They were the vital facts of my world, along with the talk of the oldtimers who knew such fascinating things to talk about.

Looking back, he sums up:

I can see now that I grew up on the farther slope of a veritable "water-edge of history," the summit of which is already crossed, and in a land where the old world lingered longest. It is gone, and with it, all but two or three of the oldtimers, white and brown, whom I have known. My mind and most of my heart are with the young, and with the strange new world that is being born in agony. But something of my heart stays yonder, for in the years of my singing about a time and a country that I loved, I note, without regret, that I have become an oldtimer myself!

Married since 1908 to the sculptress, Mona Martinsen, who modeled a magnificent head of the poet, Neihardt and his wife are the parents of a large family. Much could be said about the cycle and its appearance finally in one stout, handsome volume. Perhaps it is enough to say that the author of this book most surely will be one of those considered for the Pulitzer Prize for poetry for 1949. Currently he is poet in residence and lecturer at the University of Missouri.

Little Sharpsburg, on Illinois Highway No. 29, some twenty-three miles southeast of Springfield, ought to be proud of John Gneisenau Neihardt.

Collinsville.

IRVING DILLIARD.

Ozark Folksongs. Volume III: Humorous and Play-Party Songs. Collected and edited by Vance Randolph. (The State Historical Society of Missouri: Columbia, 1949. Pp. 594. \$3.75.)

Here is a handsome volume that will help almost any Illinois grandmother, or not too young mother, to relive her youthful frolics with the children of this age, so dependent upon commercial entertainment. Play-party songs and their accompanying games were the young folks' answer to their elders' scruples against dancing and card games. When singing was the principal form of social entertainment, and music was almost always homemade, these songs "in lighter vein" provided the fun youth must have. Their appeal is just as valid today. Although the 250 songs of this volume were collected in the Missouri and Arkansas Ozarks, they were familiar at comparable dates on the playgrounds and at the sociables of Illinois.

From Danville to Cairo, school girls played "Here Comes a Duke A-ridin'" (No. 551) and "Round and Round the Levee" (No. 538). A Murphysboro newspaperman always sang his children to sleep with the doleful tune and surprising words of "Old Father Grimes" (No. 428). He had another couplet:

Young Man Grimes will be Old Man Grimes,
When Old Man Grimes is dead.

At least one family in Springfield sang:

I got a girl in Baltimore.
Wears her hair in a pompadour,

in preference to Mr. Randolph's second line, "Street-car runs right by her door" (No. 452). A girl from Anna, Illinois, taught her schoolmates the same Arkansas version of "Sparkling on Sunday Night" (No. 468) with the giggle in:

How many on the sofa,
But I do not think there's three.

In Jackson County, Illinois, the many verses of "The Paper of Pins" (No. 354) were used as a game song by the grade school girls of about 1908, with the "boys" kneeling for the "ladies'" final favorable answer.

Perhaps these are too personal matters, but who wouldn't be glad to know there really is a "Tune the Old Cow Died On" (No. 411). The complete dialogue of "The Arkansas Traveler," with the squatter's and the stranger's fiddle tunes, is printed as Number 346 with a bibliographical introduction. These headnotes for practically every song provide accurate documentation for any reader who wishes to pursue a song through its regional

versions. Mr. Randolph has credited the contributor who furnished each variant and has provided striking portrait photographs of several singers. The tune is often given. The only lack is an alphabetical index, either of first lines or titles. But each user of the book can soon prepare his own.

Previous volumes of the series, on British Ballads recovered in the Ozarks and on Ballads and Songs arranged in subject groups, have been reviewed in this *Journal* (March and June, 1948). Almost annually since 1931, Mr. Randolph has published a volume on some phase of Ozarkian culture. He records dialect peculiarities just as he heard them, with the sympathy of an insider. The art of balladry and the playing of song-games is waning as the Ozark region becomes a vacation playground, therefore this set with 600 songs in the first three volumes is invaluable to the general collector of Americana, as well as to the folklore specialist.

Chicago.

BARBARA BURR HUBBS.

Lincoln and His Neighbors. By Bess V. Ehrmann. (Democrat Publishing Company: Rockport, Indiana, 1948. Pp. [44]. \$1.00.)

This booklet was prepared for the Spencer County Historical Society and was first published in the weekly columns of the *Rockport Democrat*. Apparently the same type and cuts were used in both cases.

The booklet consists of a prologue and epilogue which set forth the purposes of the publication, the difficulty of securing valid data, and the writer's philosophy. Mrs. Ehrmann contends that Lincoln's association with Spencer County neighbors and acquaintances did much to mold and develop his character and shape his destiny. She refers particularly to his formative and impressionable years and concludes that the Indiana background contributed a great deal to Lincoln's later success in life.

In the main portion of the book, the writer gives a bit of the drama and romance in Lincoln's experience in Rockport both in his early years and later when he became well known.

Much of the information gleaned from the descendants of Lincoln's neighbors may have been subject to the embellishment that naturally accrued from one generation to another. On the other hand, reference is made to the written biographies that have been prepared by the descendants of his Spencer County neighbors. One has the feeling that these biographies may have developed out of serious study and careful interpretation and, consequently, are more definite and reliable than much of the tradition that is given us by word of mouth.

The value of this booklet lies in the intimate sketches and close-ups, in the quotations from the published or written biographies of Lincoln's neigh-

bors. We have read many short sketches or references to Josiah Crawford and James and Allen Gentry. It is only natural that we want to know more about the people from whom Lincoln borrowed books and more about those he accompanied to New Orleans on the flatboat. The reader will also find much detailed information about other people who lived near Lincoln's home in Indiana.

In some respects this material is probably better suited to journalistic than to book purposes. I do not try to evaluate the work except for its content and the impression it is likely to make. You cannot escape noting the writer's sincerity, her loyalty to Spencer County, and her admiration for the great President.

Springfield.

BRUCE E. WHEELER.

Selective Service in Illinois, 1940-1947. By Victor Kleber. (Printed by Authority of the State of Illinois, 1949. Pp. 522.)

Following a brief preliminary statement of selective service in the United States from the American Revolution to the Second World War, this book gives a detailed history of the administration of the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940 in Illinois.

On matters of organization and operation of the draft in this state it provides an excellent reference. Pages 290 to 511 comprise an appendix of maps, documents (including the text of the Act of 1940), selective service questionnaires, lists of members of all the local draft boards, the number of men registered and the number furnished by each board.

Anecdotes of draft history enliven the record from time to time; the appendix adds to the value of the book as a reference work. Colonel Kleber was deputy director of selective service in Illinois.

Illinois State Historical Library.

MARY WATTERS.

Indiana Politics During the Civil War. By Kenneth M. Stampp. (Indiana Historical Bureau: Indianapolis, 1949. Pp. 300.)

In the two hundred and fifty years, more or less, of written history about the Midwest, the Civil War seems for some strange reason to hold more interest than any other period. *Indiana Politics During the Civil War* is a case study of the experience of one commonwealth between 1860 and 1865. The author opens his investigation with a description of the state's political development during the generation prior to the war. He states:

In 1861, Hoosiers angrily debated the question of war or peace and carefully weighed their decision on the scale of personal interest. Even the

four years of military conflict could not fuse the divergent elements in Indiana society, and Appomattox found the basic issues between them essentially unchanged. Yet, though the issues were the same, a revolution had occurred, for the balance of political power had shifted significantly.

The author focuses his study on this shift of power "which marked the triumph of the principles of Clay over those of Jackson."

This shift of power was typical of the Midwestern states, and this book holds interest for readers beyond the boundaries of Indiana. In other states the new Republican Party struggled valiantly for self-discipline in the contest with a Democratic Party hopelessly split. The Fort Sumter incident united Indiana Republicans as it did Union men in other states, but the stress of war caused a reaction and finally a so-called "collapse of constitutional government." This, too, was roughly paralleled in Illinois.

A chapter on mobilization discloses the great change in patriotism, and also in nationalism, which has come over the Midwest in the last eighty years. People who believe that the world is going to the dogs will have to change their minds while reading this book.

J. M.

The Army Air Forces in World War II; Vol. I, Plans and Early Operations (January, 1939 to August, 1942). Edited by W. F. Craven and J. L. Cate. (University of Chicago Press: Chicago, 1948. Pp. 788. \$6.00.)

The Army Air Forces in World War II; Vol. II, Europe: Torch to Pointblank (August, 1942 to December, 1943). Edited by W. F. Craven and J. L. Cate. (University of Chicago Press: Chicago, 1949. Pp. 897. \$6.00.)

The first two volumes indicate that when the full series of seven books on the United States Army's air operations in World War II are published there will be the most complete record of its kind ever made. The Air Historical Group of the United States Air Force was organized in the summer of 1942. It was staffed with professionally trained historians, and they have been gathering and sifting material for this work ever since. From the beginning they had access to official Army files and since the war they have had enemy files also. The series will be a final report to the American people but it will not be an official report, the editors say, because it will not be one "to which the Air Staff necessarily subscribes in all its details and final conclusions."

As warfare becomes more and more complex it complicates the historian's efforts to capture the full story. And air warfare on a world-wide

basis is the most complex of all. The widely separated fields of operation and the variety of operations make it impossible to give the whole scene in any one time. After a brief summary of the Air Force's heritage from World War I comes Pearl Harbor and the race to make up for lost time in producing planes and training men. And then the scene shifts all over the map.

Some readers may never have known and others may have forgotten how unprepared this country was for what happened on December 7, 1941. The first volume of this history tells them exactly where the Air Force stood—practically down to the last man and the last plane. And the second volume closes with the beginning of the full-scale bombing of Germany's war plans. Between these two points were a great amount of organizing and reorganizing, building and planning, the retreat in the Pacific, the North African campaign, and the invasion of Italy.

However, no matter how competently it is done there are certain disadvantages in this kind of history. Even after he has finished all seven volumes the reader won't really know what happened because he has been studying the activities of only one branch of the Army—and has scarcely heard mention of the ground troops or the Navy. While the series may not be "official" it is at least semi-official, and as such contains a great amount of material on plans and conferences and changes in command. It gives the complete story without showing who is right and who is wrong when differences arise.

Then, too, since this is a "report to the people" they should be warned that it is written in the Army's own World War II language: June 1, 1941 becomes 1 June 1949; 6:30 P. M. is 1830, and practically everything has a code name—from AAB (Army Air Base) to X (Task force to move heavy bombers to Australia).

But it is picayunish to look for shortcomings in a work that will provide source books for future histories. Every former Air Force man and all his friends and relatives will want to read it. And it will be a "must" for every student of World War II—amateur and professional. That takes in just about everybody.

H. F. R.

Old Cahokia: A Narrative and Documents Illustrating the First Century of Its History. Edited by John Francis McDermott. (The St. Louis Historical Documents Foundation: St. Louis, 1949. Pp. 355. Cloth, \$4.50; paper, \$3.00.)

The Cahokia phase of Illinois history has been capably and, it seems, exhaustively written about in recent months. The present volume is exce-

tionally well done. In addition to the editor's excellent opening chapter, "Cahokia and Its People," the book deals in detail with the life of this community principally through documents. A brief listing of the table of contents will give some idea of its scope. Father Joseph P. Donnelly has three chapters: "The Founding of the Holy Family Mission," "Burial Records of the Holy Family Church, 1784-1794," and "Letters from Monks' Mound." Rose Josephine Boylan edits the chapter, "Life in Cahokia as Illustrated by Legal Documents, 1772-1821." "A Business Venture at Cahokia: The Letters of Charles Gratiot, 1778-1779," is handled by Brenda R. Gieseke. Charles van Ravenswaay edits "Affairs at Fort Bowman, 1778-1780: Accounts and Letters," and Irving Dilliard describes "Two Interesting Law Cases."

Many documents hitherto unpublished are included. This is a real contribution to Illinois history. The burial records, for example, are far from complete but most revealing. The social historian should find food for thought here. Of the 650 people who were buried in the cemetery, 212 were children under 12, many of whom had died at birth. The letters from Monks' Mound throw light on that ill-fated experiment and on contemporary events as well. Father Urban wrote on March 14, 1812:

Since October 16 we have felt earthquakes almost daily. They have done little damage in the neighborhood, though I was nearly crushed by a falling chimney. They say that New Madrid is entirely destroyed. The source of the disturbance was a volcano in North Carolina from which was poured forth great explosions of fire, ashes and stone.

The summers were hot then as now. Charles Gratiot writing to his father, David Gratiot, on October 8, 1774, has this to say:

I am just returned from the Illinois country, part of Louisiana, an extremely hot and feverish country. . . . The females are pretty enough although a little tawny, and dress in the French fashion, generally coquettish, aspiring after pleasure, amusing themselves, and dance much in spite of the summer's heat.

One could continue indefinitely dipping into these ancient papers that bring a new light on the long buried past. But a sampling of the book itself will give greater pleasure to those who enjoy journeys into the past.

S. A. W.





St. Peter's Chapel in Grand Detour celebrated on June 12, the one hundredth anniversary of its cornerstone laying. The chapel has been rehabilitated and public worship is now held there during the summer months. This is the second oldest Episcopal church in the diocese of Chicago, Grace Church in Galena being the oldest.



"Trees Native to Madison County 150 Years Ago" was the topic of Mrs. Neil Waterbury at the May meeting of the Alton Area Historical Society. A brief memorial service was also held in honor of the late Judge Henry B. Eaton, a charter member of the group. Mrs. J. Marti was named to succeed Judge Eaton on the program committee.



The annual meeting of the Aurora Historical Society was held on May 10. A. J. Meiers, president of the museum board, presided. The following officers were elected: Lorin Hill, first vice-president; Mrs. Arthur F. Muschle, second vice-president; Eleanor Plain, treasurer; Dorothy Simpson, membership secretary; and Bess Lockhart, secretary. Directors include: Robert F. Brown, William F. Fowler, Charles W. Hoefer, John W. Holslag, L. Ralph Mead, Hugh Parker, George C. Simpson, Frank Weisgerber, Mrs. Harold Hamper, and Mrs. Frank Scharck.

The Cahokia Historical Society presented a check for \$50 to the Illinois State Historical Society at the state group's spring dinner meeting in East St. Louis. Four-year-old Ann O'Leary made the presentation to Dr. Dwight F. Clark, president. The gift was for the Fiftieth Anniversary Celebration of the Illinois State Historical Society, to be held in Springfield, October 7 and 8.



Special exhibits have been held at the Chicago Historical Society in recent months. One, entitled "Prairie Avenue and the Chicago Scene, 1880-1900," is occasioned by the recent publication of Arthur Meeker's novel, *Prairie Avenue*. Other exhibits include "Fifty Years—And More—of Baseball," Dean Cornwell's paintings of California missions, and a photographic history of the Berlin blockade and airlift. These pictures were taken by Henry Ries, Berlin bureau photographer for the *New York Times*, and were presented to the Chicago Historical Society by the newspaper.



The fourteenth annual meeting of the Ravenswood-Lake View (Chicago) Historical Association was held on May 18. Dr. Preston Bradley spoke on the subject, "The North Side—Past, Present, and Future." Special exhibits were arranged for this occasion.

Officers of the Association are: Sophie Chandler, president; Dr. H. K. Catliff, first vice-president; Mrs. John Halversen, second vice-president; Philip Schupp, third vice-president; Jessie E. Reed, honorary president; Helen Latterberg, secretary-treasurer. The Advisory Council includes: Mrs. Helen Lotharin, Fred Koehler, Mrs. Guy Cubley, Mrs. Winifred Healy, Mrs. Sophie Heim, Mrs. Carl Lueders, Mrs. T. T. Sullivan, and Charles Johnson.



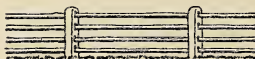
The West Side (Chicago) Historical Society made a tour of former Indian areas on the north side of Chicago on Sunday, June 5.

The group had a "big time" on July 8—West Side Day at the Chicago Railroad Fair. The "day" was sponsored by the West Side Historical Society which had prepared a parade, pageant, and special program. Bernard Baer, society president, and Charles X. Clancy, president of the Garfield Park Businessmen's Association, had leading parts in the pageant.

Herma Clark presented a program, "Chicago Silhouettes," at the May meeting of the Historical Society of Woodlawn (Chicago).



Under the supervision of Henrietta Kueper, secretary of the Clinton County Historical Society, the collection of material pertaining to the early history of the county has begun. The plan is to file historical documents, articles, and newspaper accounts in the office of the circuit clerk or in the Case-Halstead Library at Carlyle.



The DuPage County Historical Society held its annual open meeting on Sunday afternoon, June 12, in the Thornhill Building of the Morton Arboretum near Lisle. J. C. Miller, of Oak Park, spoke on the Illinois and Michigan Canal. H. A. Berens, of Elmhurst, is president of the group.



Virginia Strawn Skinner presented a review of George Flower's *History of the English Settlement in Edwards County, Illinois* at the regular May meeting of the Edwards County Historical Society.

Sponsored by the Society, L. O. Trigg gave an illustrated lecture on the Illinois Ozark country at the American Legion Hall in Albion on May 31.



The Galena Historical Society which had considered the possibility of disbanding was so encouraged by its May meeting that such thoughts were dispelled. President Gamber and Mrs. Weber, custodian, were complimented for their work.



The annual meeting of the Geneva Historical Society convened on May 8, in the public library. Officers elected are: Dr. Charles H. Lyttle, president; Mary Wheeler, first vice-president; Mrs. Florence Smith, second vice-president; Jeanita Peterson, treasurer; Mrs. Margaret A. Allan, secretary. Board members include: Mrs. William D. Bangs, Sr., and William K. Bullock. Mabel Anderson read a paper on the history of the Swedish people in Geneva.

Officers of the Glencoe Historical Society are: Victor W. Nelson, president; Mrs. John A. Grant, vice-president; Mrs. Paul W. Chapin, secretary; Louis W. Hein, treasurer, and Helen Beckwith, custodian. Committee chairmen are: Mrs. Lewis I. Birdsall, membership; Mrs. James K. Calhoun, program; Mrs. George R. Young, social; Mrs. Harry T. Booth, research; Frank D. Loomis, rules; and Fred L. Holmes, publicity.



The McLean County Historical Society sponsored a bus trip to Nauvoo, the Dickson Mounds, and Carl Sandburg's home in Galesburg on Memorial Day.

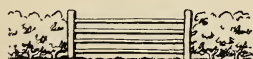
The Society has recently acquired an original painting by Sidney Smith, cartoonist and creator of "The Gumps." Smith's boyhood home was in Bloomington. A dentist's gold rolling machine, used by Sidney Smith's father, Dr. T. H. Smith, has also been given to the Society.



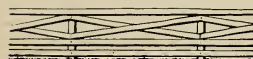
Otto R. Kyle spoke at the June meeting of the Macon County Historical Society. Mr. Kyle told of his trip to Cahokia and the spring tour of the Illinois State Historical Society.



The Madison County Historical Society met at Liberty Prairie in May. The meeting was a memorial to the late State Senator Norman G. Flagg. Jessie E. Springer, the principal speaker, paid tribute to "Flagg of Liberty Prairie."

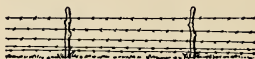


The city of Mattoon observed its ninety-fifth anniversary on June 9. The *Mattoon Journal-Gazette* and radio station WLBH gave special prominence to the founding and history of Mattoon. The Mattoon Historical Society assisted both in the collection of material to be used.



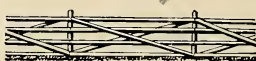
The Oak Park Historical Society heard the architect, Frank M. Pray, in April in a program entitled "An Architect Travels Through Europe and

Asia." Mrs. George W. White, president, presided. Thomas Doane and J. C. Miller spoke at the May meeting when the annual election of officers was held.



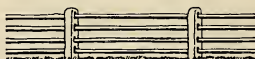
Ernest E. East spoke before the Peoria Historical Society in May. He told of the Cahokia 250th Anniversary Celebration which he attended as a member of the Illinois State Historical Society.

Officers of the Society are: George E. Johnson, president; Eugene Brown, vice-president; Mrs. Edna Reichelderfer, secretary; and E. C. Bessler, treasurer. Directors include: R. N. Brons, J. S. Frye, and Dallas Sweney.



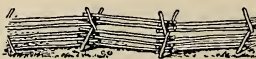
Principal speaker at the June meeting of the Rock Island County Historical Society was A. Richard Crabb. He showed a colored motion picture, "The Great Story of Corn."

Officers elected at this meeting were: O. L. Nordstrom, president; John H. Hauberg, honorary president; C. R. Rosborough, first vice-president; J. L. Oakleaf, second vice-president; Mrs. C. E. Stephenson, secretary; Mrs. Clair G. Golden, treasurer; Helen Marshall, archivist. Directors elected were: Clarence Skinner, Georgia First, Louis Hauberg, Mrs. R. Taylor Drake, Julia Mallette, and Florence Libby.



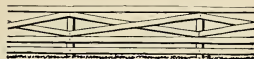
Judge Ralph Choisser spoke at the May meeting of the Saline County Historical Society. Judge Choisser, himself a direct descendant of Jean Baptiste Saucier, spoke on the "Early Settlement of Kaskaskia and Cahokia."

The group held a picnic supper at the Old Stone Face on Eagle Mountain on June 7.



An unusual exhibit of Indian stone axes, spears, arrows, etc., from the private collection of Frank E. Chaffee was displayed early in the summer in the museum of the Stephenson County Historical Society.

At its May meeting the Winnetka Historical Society was entertained by about thirty members of the North Shore chapter of the SPEBSQSA, Inc., familiarly known as Barbershoppers.



MEMBERSHIP INCREASE SETS RECORD

During the second quarter of this year the Illinois State Historical Society enrolled 385 new members. This is the largest increase of any three-month period ever recorded by the Society. Compare it with 286 new members in the first quarter of this year and 151 in the second quarter of 1948. Following are the names of those who joined the Society during April, May, and June of this year:

LIFE MEMBERS

Robert F. Koenig and Mrs. Robert F. Koenig.....Freeport

ANNUAL MEMBERS

Acron, Harold Thomas.....	Glencoe	Bethge, Charles A.....	Crystal Lake
Adams, Harriet D.....	Chicago	Bidwell, Mrs. Elisa C.....	Freeport
Adams, John R.....	Madison, Wis.	Black, Hugh E.....	La Salle
Ainsworth, Charles.....	Moline	Black, Robert T.....	Carrollton
Albus, Harry J.....	Wheaton	Blanchard, H. B.....	Centralia
Alden, Carrie Louise.....	Chicago	Boyle, Mrs. Walter A.....	Henry
Allen, James A.....	Aledo	Boyle, Walter D.....	Hennepin
Andersen, Alfred N.....	River Forest	Bradfield, Charles L.....	Tyler
Anderson, George W.....	Mendota	Brickey, Mrs. Norville W....	Festus, Mo.
Anderson, P. P.....	Canton	Brighton, Mrs. William.....	Weldon
Andrews, William J.....	Centralia	Brissenden, Robert L.....	Flora
Armstrong, Lloyd H.....	Metropolis	Brosted, T. O.....	Chicago
Arneson, Dr. J. B.....	Elmwood Park	Broughton, Mrs. G. H.....	Decatur
Artman, Pauline.....	Joppa	Brown, Calvin.....	Elmhurst
Ause, Orval H.....	Oak Park	Brown, Horace G.....	Shawneetown
		Brown, Margaret Lois.....	Millstadt
Baer, Bernard.....	Chicago	Bryant, Mrs. Cullen.....	Kirkwood
Baldwin, J. R. W.....	Hubbard Woods	Bue, Carl O.....	Elmhurst
Baldwin, Sidney.....	Boothbay Harbor, Me.	Buerkin, Katherine.....	Quincy
Bane, Charles A.....	Chicago	Bulkeley, Mrs. Harry C.....	Abingdon
Barnes, William R.....	St. Louis, Mo.	Bull, Mason.....	Morrison
Bates, Albert.....	Elmhurst	Bunn, Mrs. Nella V.....	Flora
Baxter, Dr. Albert C.....	Springfield	Burke, Dorothy E.....	Harvey
Baxter, Mrs. George E.....	Jacksonville	Byrne, Loretta.....	Springfield
Beal, Helen L.....	Chicago		
Becker, Alfred F.....	Springfield	Call, S. Leigh.....	Springfield
Beeman, Mabel.....	Litchfield	Campbell, N. A.....	Pittsfield, Mass.
Beggs, Mrs. Norman.....	Oak Park	Carruthers, Mrs. G. C.....	Springfield
Belt, James.....	Shawneetown	Carson, Mrs. John P.....	Waltonville
Bennett, Mrs. William F.....	Flora	Case, Dr. Glenn I.....	Kewanee

Cella, Louis B. Oak Park
 Center, R. G. Highland
 Church, Ralph E. Evanston
 Clark, Mrs. William Chicago
 Cloninger, Mrs. Fred Tulsa, Okla.
 Cobb, Mrs. Floyd Marion
 Cook, Edgar C. Mendota
 Coon, Mrs. Nancy D. Freeport
 Corbett, Zella C. Mt. Carroll
 Corneau, Mrs. Addison Springfield
 Crampton, Mrs. Albert Moline
 Crowe, Dewitt Springfield
 Curran, John W. Chicago
 Curtis, V. D. Kewanee
 Curtiss, Mrs. Charles R. Joliet

Dahms, Julius E. Chicago
 Damp, Everett Reynolds
 Davidson, Patricia Hinchliff
 Santiago, Chile
 Davis, Bobbie Newton
 Davis, Gordon Springfield
 Davis, Plaford M. Effingham
 Davis, Mrs. Ralph W. Geneva
 Davis, Regina Litchfield
 Davis, Robert H. Shawneetown
 Davis, Robert M. Omaha
 Dayton, Carolyn Flora
 Dexheimer, R. D. Chicago
 Dickson, R. B. Kewanee
 Donohue, Richard J. Chicago
 Dorris, W. R. O'Fallon
 Dunn, Thomas F., Jr. Oak Park
 Dunn, William W. Peoria

East, Howard T. Chicago
 Eberhart, A. Dryden Wilmette
 Edwards, Nancy Ware Redlands, Calif.
 Ellinghausen, John G. Tulsa, Okla.
 Elliott, Mrs. Ethel S. Albion
 Elliott, Mrs. Ivan A. Springfield
 Ellis, C. Howard Naperville
 Ensrud, A. G. Oak Park
 Errett, A. W., Jr. Kewanee
 Erwin, Paul Francis Evanston
 Evans, Mrs. Elmer L. Springfield
 Evers, Mrs. Nellie T. Metropolis

Farrell, E. H. Chicago
 Faull, Mrs. Ethel A. Kewanee
 Felts, Mrs. H. A. Marion
 Fernald, Paul R. Geneva
 Ferriss, Mrs. E. R. St. Charles
 Fitch, Dr. Harold W. Bushnell
 Flenniken, Mrs. Lola Cowden
 Foss, Mrs. Eugene D. Flora
 Friedli, Mrs. F. J. Belleville

Gallagher, Rev. A. J. Chicago
 Georgson, Gladys Chicago
 Gergen, C. F. East St. Louis

Gibson, D. G. Elizabethtown
 Gifford, Emery Newton
 Gilbert, Cmdr. A. A. Winnetka
 Giles, Barbara Bartlett
 Gorby, Paul F. Chicago
 Green, George L. Winnetka
 Grenzebach, Chester Chicago
 Grimes, Mignon East St. Louis
 Gumbart, Mrs. George Conrad Macomb
 Gury, Albert F., Jr. Peoria Heights
 Gustafson, Rudolph A. Chicago

Habbegger, Frederick L. Highland
 Hadden, Mrs. Samuel C.
 Indianapolis, Ind.
 Hagler, Marie Wilmington
 Hall, Richard Wheaton
 Halter, E. J. Chicago
 Hamlin, C. A. Springfield
 Hand, Fred. E. Canton
 Hanks, Lee Hardin
 Hardesty, Dr. R. R. Hardin
 Harding, Dwight S. Chicago
 Harlan, Nancy Irene Redlands, Calif.
 Harmany, Phil C. Charleston
 Harms, Mildred Chicago
 Harris, R. W. Marion
 Hawthorne, Elizabeth L. La Place
 Hax, Jacob Sterling
 Heath, Mrs. A. F. Litchfield
 Heath, Mrs. Beatrice Kane Robinson
 Hedberg, Marvin Maroa
 Heise, Leo A. Litchfield
 Hey, Louis E. Springfield
 Hinchliff, Ralph, Jr. Fallbrook, Calif.
 Hinchliff, Rockwell Los Angeles, Calif.
 Hinchliff, William Emerson
 Jefferson, Wis.
 Holdoway, Mrs. H. C. Elorado
 Holly, Mrs. Fred E. Tonica
 Holmes, Grover E. Metropolis
 Hopkins, Mrs. William Cabell
 Columbus, Ga.
 Hubbard, Vernie Louise Dixon
 Huelat, Edward E. Chicago
 Hughes, Ruth P. Freeport
 Humma, Henry H., Sr. Metropolis
 Hunsaker, B. W. Vienna

Irwin, Robert B. Springfield
 Ives, Dale G. Aledo

James, O. A. Salem
 Jay, Norman A. Steeleville
 Jenkins, Mrs. Helen A. Canton
 Johnson, Mrs. Dana Sterling
 Johnson, Frank P. Kewanee
 Johnson, Gilbert Cornell
 Johnson, Mrs. M. M. Decatur
 Johnson, William G. Chicago

Johnston, Mr. and Mrs. Charles F., Jr. Dixon
 Jordan, Mary Longina Cherry Valley
 Kalbow, Dorothea Chicago
 Katz, Dr. Julius Alton
 Kennedy, Thomas Granville
 Kerley, Bryan Grantsburg
 King, Mrs. Anna J. Athens
 King, Mrs. Lolita Rutland
 Kingdon, C. C. El Paso
 Kirovski, John E. Maroa
 Lemm, Mr. and Mrs. Julius P.
 Bloomington
 Lotz, Edward C. Chicago
 Mapp, Dr. Alfred A. Peoria
 Mearns, Robert Brimfield
 Mowton, Mrs. K. H. Freeport
 Olanchick, Mrs. William J. Chicago
 Oramp, Louis J. Chicago
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*Journal
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ILLINOIS STATE
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CARL SANDBURG AT LINCOLN'S NEW SALEM

SPRINGFIELD, ILLINOIS

DECEMBER 1949

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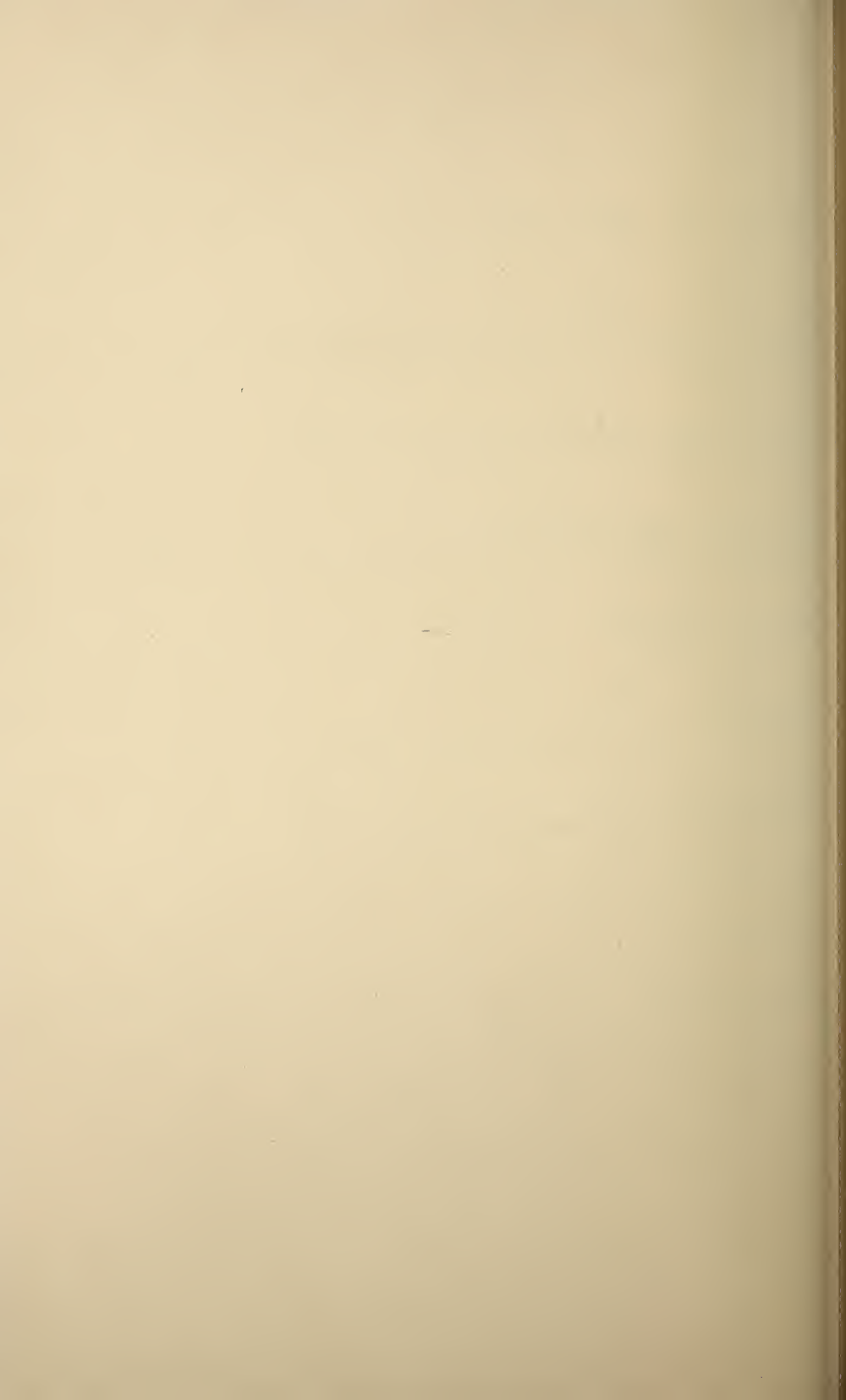


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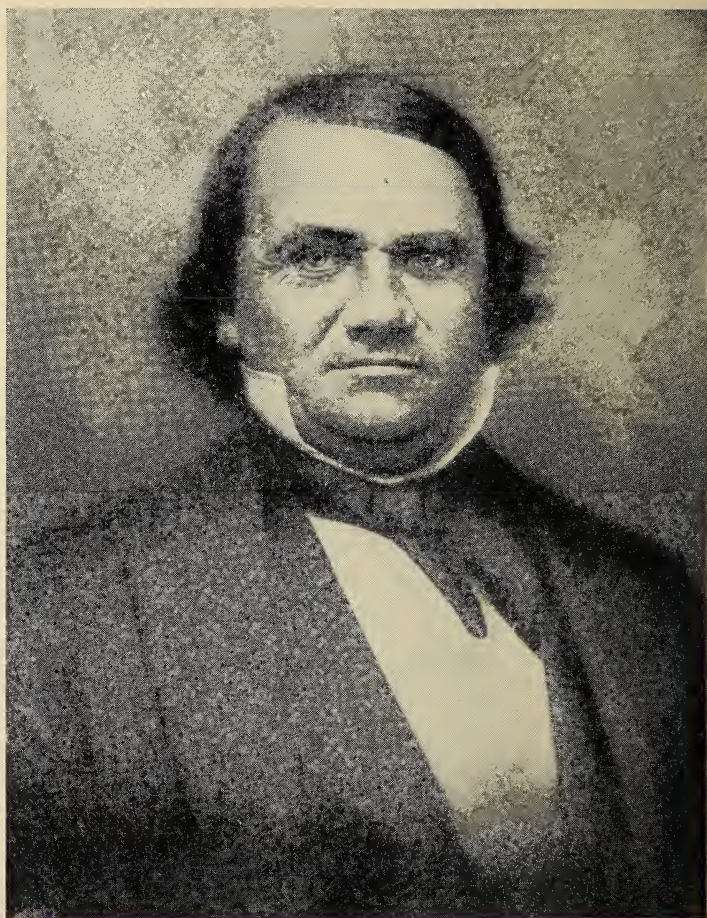
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STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS IN 1859

This photograph was made when the Little Giant was practically at the peak of his career. Among the pictures of Douglas published previously in the *Journal* was one in the September, 1947, issue, which shows him with a full beard.

STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS: HIS WEAKNESSES AND HIS GREATNESS

BY ALLAN NEVINS

THE fame of Stephen A. Douglas has passed through vicissitudes as curious as that of any American leader. For decades after the Civil War his career was used by most writers as a foil to that of Lincoln. The easiest way to illustrate Lincoln's statesmanship was to contrast it with Douglas' alleged demagoguery, and the most effective way of illustrating Lincoln's moral elevation was to place it beside Douglas' supposed moral flatness. So late as 1915 William Roscoe Thayer, in his life of John Hay, scornfully dismissed Douglas as a man whose influence was negligible. But, wrote Thayer:

History will not forget him, however much he might pray to be forgotten; because he is as indissolubly bound up with Lincoln's immortality as Brutus is with Caesar's. He remains as a warning to men of good intentions, much vanity, and no solid morality, who, in a national crisis, when the difference between conflicting principles stands out as uncompromisingly as life and death, insist that it is only a matter of shading.

Illinoisan Allan Nevins has had a long and distinguished career as a historian. He was born at Camp Point in Adams County, studied and later taught at the University of Illinois and now is professor of American history at Columbia University in New York. The author of some twenty-five books on historical subjects he has twice won the Pulitzer Prize for biography. This sketch of Stephen A. Douglas was delivered at the Sponsors' Dinner of the Illinois State Historical Society in Springfield on October 7. The following day at New Salem, Carl Sandburg called it "the best life of Douglas" he had ever heard.

The historian Rhodes, while praising Douglas' powers of leadership, declared that posterity must condemn him just as it condemned Taney. Charnwood, in his life of Lincoln, but expressed the old conventional view when he wrote of Douglas as a powerful parliamentarian who gained his effects by "the blustering, declamatory, shamelessly fallacious and evasive oratory of a common demagogue."

It is a great misfortune, as Aaron Burr found out in Jefferson's time, and Calhoun in Jackson's, to be the opponent of a President who becomes a national hero. Impartial justice was not done to Douglas until in 1907 a New Englander who had taught for a time in Iowa College and imbibed the spirit of the West, Allen Johnson, published the first good life of the man. He laid his finger upon two of Douglas' chief claims to grateful remembrance, his comprehension of the value of the public domain, and his belief in territorial expansion. He wrote:

The ends which this strenuous Westerner had in view were not wholly gross and materialistic. To create the body of a great American Commonwealth by removing barriers to its continental expansion, so that the soul of Liberty might dwell within it, was no vulgar ambition. The conquest of the continent must be accounted one of the really great achievements of the century. In this dramatic exploit Douglas was at times an irresponsible but never a weak nor a false actor.

When Beveridge's life of Lincoln was published in 1928, he gave Douglas a different type of credit. Accepting the validity of the popular sovereignty principle, and flatly contradicting the Schouler-Rhodes school of historians, he declared that Douglas had offered the most constructive of all proposals for ending the sectional conflict. In some parts of this biography we see, not Douglas the politician made a foil for Lincoln the statesman, but Lincoln the politician made a foil for Douglas the statesman—or something near this. And in George Fort Milton's *Eve of Conflict* the case for Douglas the statesman is argued with a wealth of detail.

Behind these conflicting interpretations lies a personality

which was itself full of conflict. Douglas the man had aspects which appear in stark contrast with one another. At one hour he could be the heroically disciplined chieftain of a great party; in the next he could exhibit the loose, boisterous manners of the frontier tavern. Two scenes drawn from the last year of his life will illustrate the gamut run by his traits and conduct.

Take the discreditable picture first. Charles Francis Adams, Jr., just out of Harvard, in 1860 accompanied William H. Seward on a campaign tour into the Middle West. On their return they took a sleeping car from Chicago to Cleveland. At Toledo they were roused by loud cheering. Some man rushed into the car, loudly demanding: "Where's Seward?" It was Stephen A. Douglas. Seward's berth was pointed out. Douglas threw back the curtains, exclaiming: "Come, Governor, they want to see you. Come out and speak to the boys!" Seward drowsily protested: "How are you, judge? No, I can't go out. I'm sleepy." To which Douglas replied: "Well, what of that? They *get* me out when I'm sleepy." "No, I won't go," persisted Seward, and Douglas withdrew. He carried a bottle of whisky and as he left paused for a swig. Men in the car said that he was half drunk. He had been addressing the Democrats of Toledo; he knew that they would credit him with a smart stroke if he dragged Seward out as an exhibit; and so, bottle in hand, he had burst into the car. At the time he was running for President.

It is pleasant to turn to the creditable scene. The date was a few months later, April 25, 1861; the place was Springfield. The legislature was in session, while the city was alive with volunteers training at Camp Yates. Never had news that Senator Douglas was to speak failed to bring a crowd into Springfield. It was announced that he had left Washington to arouse the Northwest to battle, and at eight o'clock that night would address a joint session of the two houses. Evening found the capitol packed. When he rose the applause was deafening.

He lifted his sonorous voice with a fiery energy worthy of his cause.

Half a century later men recalled that speech with emotion. The Republican editor, Horace White, was in the audience; and White declared that he did not think it possible for a human being to produce a more electric effect with the spoken word. Said Douglas:

Hostile armies are now marching upon the Federal capitol with the view of planting a revolutionary flag upon its dome; seizing the national archives; taking captive the President. . . . The boast has gone forth by the Secretary of War of this revolutionary government that on the 1st of May the revolutionary flag shall float from the wall of the capitol in Washington, and that on July 4th the revolutionary army shall hold possession of the Hall of Independence in Philadelphia. The simple question presented to us is whether we shall wait for the enemy to carry out his boast of making war upon our soil, or whether we shall rush as one man to the defense of our government and its capital.

Men left the building with their blood on fire.

Such contrasts run through the Senator's mature career. We have the Douglas of prodigious energy, toiling on legislation until his health sank; we have the Douglas who threw his arms about low cronies in Washington barrooms. We have the Douglas who bore one of Washington's most fashionable belles, Adele Cutts, to the altar; we have the other Douglas who offended guests at a Hartford reception by spitting tobacco on a floor swept by ladies' gowns. We have the Douglas who telegraphed his friend Lanphier when, early in 1859, the Illinois legislature re-elected him to the Senate: "Let the voice of the people rule." We have also the Douglas who, in that very moment, profited from a bad apportionment which defeated the voice of the people. We have the Douglas who demanded that popular sovereignty control every step in settling the affairs of empty Kansas; we also have the Douglas who was for annexing populous Cuba without consulting the will of her people at all. We have the Douglas who played into the hands of proslavery extremists in his Kansas-Nebraska bill

of 1854, and who defied the proslavery extremists in his battle against Lecompton in 1858.

Is it true that, save in love for the Union and interest in Western expansion, we look in vain for a unifying principle in Douglas' public career? Is it true that, save in ambition, we seek in vain for a binding cord in his personal life?

He is the harder to understand because he never took pains to reveal himself. If ever a man was an extrovert, a believer in action, it was Douglas; if ever a man was a practised, fluent speaker, it was Douglas. He was not secretive like Polk, who did not confide even in his Cabinet members; he was not speechless like Buchanan, who spent ten years in the Senate without saying anything worth hearing; he was not empty like Ben Wade. But he signally lacked the trait of self-revelation. Students of his life become exasperated by the paucity of letters from his pen. We might suppose that from Washington the Senator would write frequently to his close friend James W. Sheahan, editor of the *Chicago Times*, and to Charles H. Lanphier, editor of the *Illinois State Register*. Actually his epistles to them are few, hurried, and full of political directions to the exclusion of news, ideas, or personal feeling. Sheahan, indeed, has placed on record his sense of frustration because Douglas wrote to him so rarely. Even when, in 1860, the impoverished Irish-American lost his newspaper to Cyrus H. McCormick and walked out into the world penniless, he received no sympathetic letter from the captain he had served so devotedly. To be sure, Douglas then had his own financial difficulties; but Sheahan expressed a bitter sense of grievance.

Douglas was eminently a son of the frontier. Brandon, Vermont, was a frontier town when he was born there in 1813; Canandaigua, New York, had scarcely emerged from its frontier character when he went there in 1830; and western Illinois was a fringe of civilization when he first reached it. Like so many self-made sons of the frontier, Douglas was always strenuously busy; and this might seem the key to his silence

upon his personal life, his ideas and emotions. A man incessantly active in politics, business, Congressional work, and masculine society, he never found time to express his inner self in letters or diary. Hurry, however, is an insufficient explanation. Other hurried men, like Theodore Roosevelt, have revealed themselves in thousands of frank letters. Something was lacking in Douglas' nature, some element of inner richness. Essentially uncultivated in everything except politics, he was also essentially an unreflective, unphilosophical man, who thought only of propulsive forces.

It is impossible to study his career in detail without a sense that the animating principle of his character was a fierce practicality. He wished to get things done, and get them done in the most direct fashion, leaving ultimate consequences alone; trusting to fortune that, as Banquo said of Macbeth's murder, the act would "trammel up the consequence and catch success." No man was ever quicker to take practical advantage of any situation, and few leaders have been more careless of the long look ahead.

A year ago I paid a visit to the village of Winchester, near the Illinois River, where he began his career. In the pleasant village square is a well-executed statue of Douglas, showing not the stripling who came to Winchester, but a mature man, seated in his senatorial chair, the posture making the most of his great head and massive chest, and minimizing his short limbs. In that village were lawyers who loved to recall how the youth, with long curling hair, glowing blue eyes, and combative chin, all energy and ambition, had arrived in 1833, with just three bits in his pocket; how after earning \$2.50 as auction clerk he had opened a school with forty pupils at \$3.00 apiece; how he had boldly debated with a Jacksonville attorney on the merits of Jackson's administration; and how, when he did not know "enough law to write out a declaration," he had persuaded an indulgent judge to give him a license, and hung up his shingle in the Morgan County courthouse. Six weeks short

of twenty-one, he was embarked in life. And, seeing that Jacksonville could give him few cases, he immediately took politics as his main profession.

Seldom has a man more quickly mastered his profession. He shook off his Eastern dress, manners, and speech for blue jeans, rough ways, and frontier vocabulary. He cultivated stump oratory with such effect that at twenty-one he had gained his name of the Little Giant. He made the most of Jacksonian control of the legislature by hurrying to Vandalia, helping put through a bill which displaced the Whig then serving as state's attorney in the Jacksonville district, and getting himself named to the place. The very judge who had given him his license declared: "He is no lawyer and has no lawbooks." But with a borrowed horse, a borrowed volume on criminal law, and unlimited self-confidence, he set out to prosecute the cases in his district.

Plainly, he was a youngster who knew how to improvise; and a brilliant improviser he remained all his life. A youth of different temperament would have tarried in Canandaigua, where he had attended an academy and first looked into law-books; would have perfected his education, as Douglas' mother begged him to do, before going out to conquer fortune. But Douglas had a headlong ambition. On leaving Canandaigua, he told his mother: "In ten years I shall stop by and see you on my way to Congress." He was almost better than his word. In 1837, running for Congress against that John T. Stuart who was Lincoln's first law partner, he came within thirty-five votes of winning. In 1841 he came within five legislative votes of gaining the senatorship, though a year short of the required age. In 1843, ten years after reaching Winchester, he was elected to Congress.

He had given these ten years to politics, not to law, to reading, or to any other more intellectual pursuit. He had worked in caucuses and conventions. He had spoken from the stump. He had treated voters at the liquor-counter of country

stores. If he ever looked into any books, an old-time friend testified later, it was into legal commentaries, the *Congressional Globe*, and political handbooks, of which he became such a master that soon after entering the House he startled everybody by correcting the omniscient John Quincy Adams on a point of fact. His lack of general cultivation was to come out painfully in such episodes as his debate with Senator Butler of South Carolina in March, 1853. Butler, an old-school gentleman who was fond of his well-stocked library, pronounced a eulogy upon British literature and British statesmanship, explaining how much America owed to both. Douglas swept all this away with contemptuous impatience. European literature to him was mere useless lumber; European statesmanship he summed up in the single word "tyranny."

He did gain one titular distinction in these ten years of political training. He helped to push a bill through the Democratic legislature for a partisan reorganization of the State Supreme Court—a fact which the Republicans remembered when in 1857, after the Dred Scott decision, they talked of reorganizing the Federal Supreme Court; and he was appointed to one of the five judgeships. "Judge" Douglas he was called all his life, though he quickly left the uncongenial bench. Later he spoke of his brief term as one of "my youthful indiscretions." The "Judge" had only a hedge-lawyer's knowledge of the statutes and no real grasp of jurisprudence. What matter? His brilliant improvisation had been successful. It continued to succeed, for in 1847 he entered the Senate.

Forward, forward! Hurry, hurry! Improvise, improvise! These were Douglas' mottoes. Such watchwords suited the crude, fast-growing West, the young Illinois. He had imbibed the pushing, inventive spirit of the restless Mississippi Valley. When he went back to Middlebury College to take an honorary degree, he first thanked the donors and then took them aback with the frank statement: "My friends, Vermont is the most glorious spot on the face of this earth for a man to be

born in, provided he emigrates when he is very young." To the crowd at Jonesboro, Illinois, in his debate with Lincoln, he declared with a touch of self-complacency:

I came out here when I was a boy, and found my mind liberalized and my opinions enlarged when I got on these broad prairies, with only the heavens to bound my vision, instead of having them circumscribed by the little narrow ridges that surrounded the valley where I was born.

What he meant was that in coming West he had dropped caution, precision, and a painful effort at foresight; he had exchanged them for a rough self-reliance, a heedless optimism, a faith in his star, and a trust that the future would catch up with any bold, forward step. It was natural for him to become a Democrat of the Jackson-Polk school. The Whig Party, the organization of Clay and his balanced American System, was the party of conservatism, moderation, and planning; the Democrats were the party of energy, confidence in the popular impulse, and spirited action.

It was part of the headlong practicality of the man, born of a union between his brilliant precocity and his rude Western environment, that he was as deficient in general ideas of an abstract kind as he was fertile in working devices. He had little of the power of subjective thought exhibited by Hamilton, Madison, or Calhoun. I have read scores of his speeches without finding a single statement or idea (apart from the very practical idea of popular sovereignty) that could be torn from its context and set up as a principle. He was irresistible in debate; but he was totally incapable of writing a true state paper. When once in his life, in 1859, he undertook to prepare an essay of scholarly character presenting some generalized arguments to the country—his famous exposition of popular sovereignty in *Harper's Magazine*—all life departed from his pen, and he became incredibly labored, pedantic, and dull. His deficiency in this respect becomes most evident when we compare him for a moment with Lincoln.

Douglas was a great democrat, a natural man of the peo-

ple; but he was not a democrat in the reflective sense in which Lincoln was one. Why can we never conceive of Douglas as making such a remark as Lincoln's famous epigram: "God must have loved the common people, because he made so many of them"? For two reasons, I think. The first is that to make such a remark requires a certain detachment. Lincoln, when he uttered it, was standing apart from the plain people, surveying them, and musing upon their relation to Providence. Douglas, however, never stood apart from the crowd; he was always in the thick of it, sharing its emotions, calculating on its movements. Lincoln's remark carried an implication that he was not quite one of the plain people, but was studying them from an outer, though sympathetic, vantage point. Douglas never for a moment thought of himself except as one of the democratic mass. The second reason is that Lincoln's remark states a rebuke to the aristocrats of this world with a philosophic kindliness of which Douglas was incapable. Lincoln's epigram must seem biting to all those who despise the masses—to H. L. Mencken, for example, talking contemptuously of *booboisie*. In fact, it is devastating. Yet it is humorous, inoffensive, even ingratiating. Douglas would have found this philosophic good humor impossible. His approach to the aristocrats would have been combative: "Think yourself better than us common folk, do you? Well, you silk-stocking scoundrels, you're not"—and then a stream of invective.

Douglas' lack of reflective and philosophical qualities come out in other relationships. It is shown, for example, in the almost complete lack of wit and humor in the man; for humor is impossible without a philosophical sense of the bizarre relationships of life. Lincoln saw humor in everything. But Douglas told few stories, coined no epigrams, and never delivered a Will Rogers thrust. His only form of humor was the belligerent form—sarcasm. I have found just one pun in his speeches. In his attack on Jefferson Davis in the Senate after the Charleston Convention in 1860, he harked back to the

old battle of 1850 in Mississippi, when Davis and Henry S. Foote ran for Senator with acceptance or rejection of Clay's Compromise as the issue between them, and Davis was defeated. Mississippi, said Douglas, put her Foote on Davis. He could poke fun at Lincoln for his clerkship in a country store. He could put Senator Bayard in his place by a jest at the tiny size of Delaware. But of the broad fun and humor of the West, so delightful in Tom Corwin, so lambent at times in the speeches even of Thomas Hart Benton, he had very little.

His idea of national union, too, was less philosophical than Lincoln's or Lyman Trumbull's. His concept of the Union was Jacksonian, while Lincoln's concept was Websterian. That is, Douglas saw the Union in a practical light; it was the Union which developed the country, guarded the frontiers, kept the Mississippi open to the mouth, and used its strong arm to annex new territory for the swarming American millions. Lincoln's idea of the Union embraced this and a good deal more. He, like Webster, thrilled to the Union with an intense spirit of nationality, a passionate attachment to the republic as a whole, and a conviction that the people must stand as a unit in defense of freedom. If the Union died, liberty died with it. They were "one and inseparable."

The fact was that Douglas supplied the place of abstract ideas, of such carefully pondered principles as had been laid down by Hamilton and Jefferson, Calhoun and Clay, with three or four broad emotional beliefs. One was his unreflecting, indiscriminating, ill-defined faith in the popular will. One was his belief in national growth: the growth, he said, which having burst through the Indian country, crossed the Rockies and Sierras, and come to a halt on the Pacific, must then turn either north to Canada or south to Mexico. A third emotional belief grew out of his optimism respecting America. He thought the future of the republic unbounded. Europe, he once declaimed, is "one vast graveyard," and *her* legislation must suit that condition. "*Here* everything is fresh, blooming,

expanding, and advancing. We wish a wise, practical policy adapted to our condition and position."

We have said that a headlong practicality, a gift for brilliant improvisation, was the chief animating force of his career. It was united with another ruling trait, his belligerence. He was born with a love of battle. He reminds us of Dr. John Brown's story of the Scottish farmer and his dour mastiff "Why is your dog so sad and grim?" they asked the farmer "Eh, sir!" he said, "life is full of sairiousness to him; he can just never get enough of fightin!" Douglas had none of the urbane diplomacy of an Easterner like Seward; he was as fond of attack as a stallion of the Western prairies. We have noted that his first important act after opening his school in Winchester was to plunge into battle with a neighboring attorney and his first important act after getting admitted to the bar was to wage a contest in the Vandalia legislature to unseat the district attorney. He kept on fighting. In his joint debate with Stuart for Congress, Douglas used such offensive language that Stuart picked him up, tucked his head under his arm, and dragged him around the Springfield square; Douglas meanwhile biting Stuart's thumb almost in two. When John Quincy Adams first heard the Little Giant speak in Congress, he thought the Westerner's ferocity against the Whigs almost insane. "His face was convulsed," wrote Adams in his diary "his gesticulation frantic, and he lashed himself into such heat that if his body had been made of combustible matter it would have burnt out." Precisely similar was Carl Schurz's impression of him in the Senate—the impression of a grimly formidable parliamentary pugilist. He looked the incarnation of forceful combativeness, and his speech accorded with his looks. Wrote Schurz:

His sentences were clear-cut, direct, positive. They went straight to the mark like bullets and sometimes like cannonballs, tearing and crashing. . . . He was utterly unsparing of the feelings of his opponents. . . . He would with utter unscrupulousness, malign his opponents' motives, distort their sayings, and attribute to them all sorts of iniquitous deeds and purposes.

Quite so; even the patient Lincoln was nettled by his unfair tactics.

For an example of his combative skill in blackening the character of an opponent we may take a passage from his assault on Salmon P. Chase and Charles Sumner in March, 1854. The Ohio and Massachusetts senators had played their political game very much as Douglas had played his. Both had been elected to the Senate by coalitions. Yet they were assuming a tone of lofty moral superiority. Douglas used the gladiator's short sword on them, the *argumentum ad hominem*. "Mr. President," he rasped:

The Senators from Ohio and Massachusetts have taken the liberty to impeach my motives. . . . I desire to know by what right they arraign me. . . . I must be permitted to tell the Senator from Ohio that *I* did not obtain my seat in this body, either by a corrupt bargain or a dishonorable coalition! I must be permitted to remind the Senator from Massachusetts, that *I* did not enter into any combinations or arrangements by which my character, my principles, and my honor were set up at public auction or private sale in order to procure a seat in the Senate of the United States!

This was quite unfair. His imputations of dishonor and corruption had no basis. But they were signally effective in turning Chase and Sumner from the offensive to the defensive.

This belligerent temper had its good and its bad sides. It was shown at its best in his indomitable pluck. The stout-hearted Douglas never quailed against any odds. Horace Greeley wrote a letter to Congressman William Kellogg of the Canton, Illinois, district early in 1860. He wrote that Douglas and he had never agreed but upon one subject: Lecompton. They were political enemies. "I detest his doctrines," stated Greeley, "but I like his pluck." And with a sly dig at the Republicans who had endorsed Helper's *Impending Crisis* and then under attack had repudiated that book, Greeley added: "Had *he* [Douglas] signed, ever so heedlessly, a circular recommending Tom Paine's *Age of Reason*, you would never have found him prevaricating nor apologizing . . .; he would simply and coolly have told his adversaries to make the

most of it." Everyone admired the Little Giant's pluck. At times in his stormy career he faced a whole cohort of angry opponents, and worsted them all. Who can forget the great scene on the night of March 3, 1854, when he carried his Kansas Nebraska bill through the Senate by an irresistible onslaught, extorting from his opponent Seward the tribute: "I have never had so much respect for the Senator as I have tonight"?

Another creditable aspect of his combative temper, which only those who have read scores of his speeches can appreciate, lay in his use of oratory as a businesslike, argumentative, factual weapon. America was afflicted in this period with a spread-eagle school of speech. Emerson remarked: "The curse of this country is eloquent men." In debate Douglas was like Charles James Fox: He was intent on convincing, and poured forth his arguments and facts as a general in battle throws successive waves of shock troops against a position. He was never flowery, never flatulent, never weak; he mastered all political subjects thoroughly, for they were the sole object of his interest—and woe betide the man who challenged his knowledge. He could tell precisely what had happened in a Congressional debate of 1846, or 1852, or 1856. He could state the precise provisions of the enabling act for Wisconsin or Arkansas. He could recite offhand the number of states which had levied tonnage-taxes. Like Al Smith, he was a walking encyclopedia of government, and like Governor Smith, he used this lore in a manly, downright elucidation of public issues.

One illustration of his irresistible businesslike readiness in debate will suffice. After the Charleston Convention in 1860 when the Democratic Party split between those who accepted Douglas' popular sovereignty platform and those who demanded a slave-code platform, Jefferson Davis taunted Douglas on the Senate floor. The seventeen certainly Democratic states were for the slave-code platform, he said; but the sixteen states which voted for the Douglas platform did not include one that was certainly Democratic. In a few crisp sentences

Douglas turned on Davis and crushed him. Maryland had opposed the Douglas platform at Charleston; was Maryland purely Democratic? She had voted against Buchanan in 1856. Tennessee had opposed the Douglas platform; was Tennessee always Democratic? She had voted against Pierce in 1852, and of her ten Congressmen only three were now Democrats. Kentucky had opposed the Douglas platform; was Kentucky surely Democratic? She had voted against Pierce in 1852. Illinois had never once failed the Democratic Party in a presidential election. Could Jefferson Davis say as much for Mississippi? He could not, for the Whigs had once carried his state. Behind Douglas' combativeness lay an arsenal of exact knowledge.

His belligerent temper displayed its worst side in his frequent readiness to use any quarrel to gain an unfair advantage. He could be unscrupulous in domestic affairs. He could be still more unscrupulous in international matters, for he was always a chauvinist, an expansionist, and a narrow-minded assailant of foreign peoples. Here again a single illustration will suffice for many. In the spring of 1858 the British Navy was accused of aggressions against vessels bearing the American flag. Douglas was foremost in fanning the flame of national resentment. He proposed to give President Buchanan power to punish such outrages instantly and effectively, and declaimed:

While I am opposed to war, while I have no idea of any breach of the peace with England, yet I confess to you, sirs, that if war should come by whatever act I would administer to every citizen and every child Hannibal's oath of eternal hostility as long as the English flag waved or their government claimed a foot of land upon the American continent or the adjacent islands. If, I would make it a war that would settle our disputes forever, not only of the right of search upon the seas, but the right to tread with hostile foot upon the soil of the American continent.

This is in the best vein of Jefferson Brick. We might dismiss it as rodomontade, but its offense lies deeper. What was the outrage committed by the British Navy? The boarding, off Africa or Cuba, of vessels flying the American flag but looking much like slave ships—which they sometimes were. Douglas

was willing to use this minor controversy for seizing Canada, the British West Indies, and Belize; just as he was ready to use any chance quarrel with Spain to seize Cuba.

The great danger incurred by the practical politician who rushes headlong into improvisation is this, that he oversimplifies the problems he faces. The great danger in habitual belligerency is that it soon builds up an iron wall of enemies. Douglas had many engaging traits. His personal magnetism was almost irresistible. His loyalty to his friends, including the erratic James Shields and the wily Robert J. Walker, was admirable. He remembered everyone around him by name, and gave the humblest follower the feeling that he had in Douglas a personal champion. He delighted in every opportunity of mingling with human beings; in campaign trips, speeches, and caucuses, in dinners, receptions, and parties. He could stay up all night with good fellows in a railroad car, as George B. McClellan relates, and yet be ready in debate and punctual in business the next day. While always anxious to make money by speculation, he could be prodigally generous of funds for an associate or a cause. On great occasions he could be magnanimous. His telegram in 1856 urging his followers in the Cincinnati Convention to turn to Buchanan was written the moment he heard that Buchanan had a majority vote, and was a bright episode in the history of a party repeatedly divided by the two-thirds rule.

But his twin traits of impetuous improvisation and reckless belligerency were destined in the end to blot his claim to the rank of statesman, and to place him in a position where he had to make a mighty effort to recover his prestige. That he did make this effort and did re-establish his fame, there can happily be no doubt.

We find these traits exhibited in four critical events of his career. The first was his rash attempt for the Presidential nomination in 1852, which ended in bitterness and humiliation. The second was the Kansas-Nebraska struggle of 1854, the un-

happiest Pandora's box in our history. The third was the battle over the Lecompton Constitution, which would have brought Kansas into the Union as slave soil. The fourth was the renewed struggle for the Presidency in 1860, with his final implacable contest against the Southern wing of the party. Three of these four contests shook the country and affected its destiny. The first two wore a dubious look. In the latter two he fought for principle and for personal ambition at the same time, and while his critics have laid stress on his ambition, his admirers have more justly emphasized his principles. In all four contests his essential characteristics were dramatically exhibited.

The attempt to vault into the White House was a serio-comic episode significant only in the humiliation it visited upon Douglas and the foundation it laid for Southern hostility. Had he been elected that year, he would have been President at thirty-nine, much the youngest man who has ever held the office. Thoughts of youth and inexperience never troubled him. Was he not the leader of Young America? Francis J. Grund wrote, "Douglas is going it with a rush"; and "rush" was just the word for his pre-convention campaign. For some months he believed that what he called "The Ticket," consisting of himself and R. M. T. Hunter of Virginia, would win the day. Actually the circumstances foreordained defeat, which any political veteran could have predicted. What hurt Douglas' feelings, in the end, was not that the Democratic Convention swiftly passed him over in favor of Franklin Pierce; it was the contempt and dislike which many Southern leaders expressed for him. Aristocratic, conservative Southerners of the old school, men like William R. King, Howell Cobb, and A. P. Butler, were scornful of Douglas' brash impetuosity. If he were nominated, wrote John Slidell of Louisiana, "I should despair of the republic." His election, said Senator King, would be an invitation to "every vulture that would prey upon the public carcass." "If we had named him," wrote Cave

Johnson when all was over, "we would have been dishonored and disgraced."

When we turn to the Kansas-Nebraska Act, we turn to one of the most complicated and controversial chapters in American history. We turn also to the supreme illustration of Douglas' tendency to gain an immediate practical end by impulsive improvisation. No error in historical interpretation is more frequent than the attempt to rationalize every great public act, attributing it to reason and design. In his classic book, *Human Nature in Politics*, Graham Wallas points out that perhaps the greater part of political conduct is irrational; that it springs not from cool calculation of means and ends, but from impulses and instincts representing temporary emotion, environmental determinism, and other factors. To say that Douglas in 1854 carefully planned the Kansas-Nebraska Act is to do injustice both to the complexity of the situation and to his headlong impulsiveness.

Insofar as he acted on rational, well-considered grounds, he doubtless acted from a multiplicity of motives. He was aware that his friend Senator Atchison of Missouri had to be rescued from a sad political plight. He was aware that Chicago would never forgive him if New Orleans or Memphis gained a Pacific railroad and the lake city did not. He wished to push himself boldly forward as a national leader. He recalled that he had solved the difficult problem of organizing New Mexico Territory by using the popular sovereignty formula. He wished to add to his proud record as the principal leader of Congress in opening the West to settlement. He was keenly conscious that Pierce's administration was tottering and discredited, and that a strong policy was needed to rescue the party from disastrous squabbles. A mind so alert and sinewy as Douglas' would appreciate not merely one or two but all of these factors. It is difficult to believe that the railroad situation explained his bill. He was pressing for three transcontinental railroads, which would satisfy all sections; as chairman of the railroad

committee he was in a position to block undesired legislation; and his bill actually delayed a Pacific railroad. The need for some strong new policy to unite the country was probably uppermost in his mind.

So much for the rational element in his action. It seems likely, however, that a semi-irrational impulse was more potent. A practical situation confronted him. His instinct was to improvise. To deal with the Kansas-Nebraska country in a way satisfying to both Northerners and Southerners was difficult; he saw what looked like a feasible solution, and without second thought leaped forward to apply it. His brilliant improvisations had always worked in the past. The mere force of Western growth would make this one work. That he acted on heedless impulse is indicated by the fact that his momentous bill passed through three stages before taking final form. As first introduced, it merely stated that new Nebraska Territory should ultimately be admitted as a state with or without slavery as its constitution might prescribe. Then it was amended to declare that, pending statehood, all questions pertaining to slavery should be left to the people. Finally it was again amended to include an explicit repeal of the Missouri Compromise restriction against slavery. Plainly, Douglas had leaped into the situation without real forethought about his ultimate goal. He had taken a first hurried step. Then a group of Southerners pushed him to a second, more drastic step. Then still another Southerner, Dixon of Kentucky, pushed him to the third step. His first leap had seemed safe enough, but its momentum carried him forward to ground that quaked with anger.

In all American history no more fateful piece of headlong improvisation can be found than this Kansas-Nebraska bill. Before he introduced it the slavery question had been settled for every inch of American territory. Under the compromises of 1820 and 1850 not a rod of ground was in dispute. This impetuous measure opened up two mighty quarrels. One, be-

tween Northern free-soilers and Southern proslavery men, was bad enough. The other, between Northern Democrats who held that popular sovereignty applied at once, and Southern Democrats who held that it applied only when a state asked for admission, was much worse. Both quarrels were latent in the time. Douglas had called them to life.

Douglas had meant to unify his party and lead it triumphantly against its foes. Instead, he spent the rest of his life leading the Northwestern faction of the party against the Southern faction. He could not accept the Southern interpretation of his law, that slavery must be allowed free access to a territory even *against* the will of its people until it became a state. He could not accept the Dred Scott decision which wrote that interpretation into the Constitution. He could not accept the policies of President Buchanan when that executive, controlled by Slidell, Howell Cobb, and other Southerners, lent himself to the Southern interpretation. In a sense, Douglas spent his final years battling for his one broad, hazy principle—the principle that the people who go to dwell in a given area should determine its institutions. It was not so sound a principle as Lincoln's doctrine that national morality and national health called for the containment of slavery within its existing bounds, but it might nevertheless be termed a principle. In another sense, Douglas spent his last years expiating his rashness in overthrowing an honest, workable compromise in favor of one that proved ambiguous and unworkable; and expiating the bellicosity which had raised up a host of personal enemies.

If we think of the battle for principle, Douglas in 1858 appears in a heroic role. A group of Southern leaders, incited by an angry Southern press, were determined to bring in Kansas as the sixteenth slave state. They seized upon the most dishonestly written state constitution in American annals, the so-called Lecompton Constitution, a child of fraud and violence. They browbeat President Buchanan into assenting to this constitution. Instantly, as the session of 1857-1858 opened,

Douglas was in arms. His struggle against Lecompton was an exhibition of iron determination. The drama of that battle has given it an almost unique place in the record of American party controversies.

"By God, sir!" he exclaimed, "I made James Buchanan, and by God, sir, I will unmake him!" Friends told him that the Southern Democrats meant to ruin him. "I have taken a through ticket," rejoined Douglas, "and checked my baggage." His retort to Buchanan when the President reminded him how Jackson had crushed two party rebels is famous. Douglas was not to be overawed by a man whom he regarded as a pygmy. "Mr. President," he snorted, "I wish you to remember that General Jackson is dead." Less well known is his sarcastic rejoinder to that doughface member of Buchanan's cabinet, Isaac Toucey. When Toucey said that a battle between Douglas and the administration might cripple the party for a generation, the Senator declared this true. "Why, my dear sir," cried Toucey, delightedly, "you agree with me in everything—I don't see how we can disagree at all." "Certainly not," said Douglas with ironic tartness. "We *can't* disagree, Mr. Toucey; it's impossible; for you are always right on a constitutional question, and while the Constitution declares that *Congress* may admit new states, it hasn't a word in it about the *Cabinet* admitting them."

As for the Southern leaders, Douglas' scorn of the extremists was unbounded. He told the Washington correspondent of the *Chicago Journal* that he had begun his fight as a contest against a single measure. But a blow at Lecompton was a blow against slavery, and he at once had the whole "slave power" down on him like a pack of wolves. He added:

In making the fight against this power, I was enabled to stand off and view the men with whom I had been acting; that I was ashamed I had ever been caught in such company; they were a set of unprincipled demagogues, bent upon perpetuating slavery, and by the exercise of that unequal and unfair power, to control the Government or break up the Union; and I intend to prevent their doing either.

It was a heroic battle; a battle, too, which Douglas gallantly won, for Lecompton was defeated. And yet did not the whole Kansas struggle have a deeper significance? As the country looked back on it, did it not teach a painful lesson of the gross miscalculation involved in the Kansas-Nebraska Act? That measure, which Douglas had said would quiet sectional antagonisms, had increased them. That enactment, which he had declared would furnish a relatively quick, automatic, and natural solution of the slavery issue, had produced delays, artificial interventions, and endless broils. That bill, presented as an embodiment of justice, had fostered fraud, dishonesty, and outrage. The shining role of Douglas in the final act could not conceal the fact that it would have been far better for Kansas, for the Democratic Party, for the South, and for the nation, had he insisted in 1854 on respecting the Missouri Compromise. For much that had occurred he could not be blamed. But he could be blamed for not foreseeing that false hopes of a new slave state would be aroused in the South, that the North would be filled with a sense of betrayal, that angry conflicts would ensue on the Western plains, and that governors and presidents would be subjected to pressures under which they would bend.

All conventional treatments of Douglas describe as the final glorious phase of his career the months in which, as secession and civil war came, he threw himself with impetuous ardor into the cause of the Union. He pledged Lincoln the support of the Union Democrats; he would have made the first call for troops 150,000 men instead of 75,000. But it is not his position in the spring of 1861, fine as it was, which most deserves praise. After all, every truehearted Northerner after Fort Sumter was fired with patriotic ardor. I find the most splendid chapter of his life elsewhere.

It lies in the course he pursued in the last months of the presidential campaign of 1860. Douglas began that campaign with some hope of being elected. By midsummer he knew that

these hopes were vain; that the four-cornered election could not even be thrown into the House; that Lincoln's victory was certain. His health was precarious, and his personal fortunes were at low ebb—he was almost bankrupt. Any less determined fighter would have given up and retired to his home. Douglas could have done so without criticism, for not one of the other candidates, Lincoln, Breckinridge, and Bell, undertook a vigorous canvass. But he believed that the Union was in danger. Meeting Senator Henry Wilson in Boston early in August, he predicted Lincoln's election, and declared that he was resolved to go South to urge the people to submit to the result and sustain the government. He was as good as his word. Traveling into slaveholding territory, he exhibited moral courage of the rarest kind by denouncing secession and warning Southerners that if it came it would be met with force.

At Norfolk he told a crowd of seven thousand that no Southern state would be justified in seceding if Lincoln were elected. He also told the crowd that it was the duty of the government to enforce the laws and preserve the Constitution. He himself would do everything in his power to maintain both; and he believed that the next President, whoever he might be, "should treat all attempts to break up the Union . . . as Old Hickory treated the Nullifiers in 1832." At Raleigh, he used even stronger language. "I would hang every man higher than Haman," he said, "who would attempt to resist by force the execution of any provision of the Constitution which our fathers made and bequeathed to us." At Raleigh he also told the South that the men of the Northwest would never let the lower Mississippi pass into the hands of a foreign country; before they did that, they would follow the waters of the Illinois with the bayonet down to the Gulf. Returning North to New York, he declared that all true Democrats must join in enforcing the laws against seceders. "I wish to God," he vociferated, "that we had an Old Hickory now alive that he might hang Northern and Southern traitors on the same gallows."

This was a brave stand, for most Democratic politicians were silent on the issue of secession. It was more—it was a farsighted stand, for most Republican leaders, including Lincoln, were scoffing at the idea that secession would come, while many leaders in all parties were denying that secession would be followed by war. While such Republicans as Greeley would let the Southern states go in peace, ex-President Franklin Pierce was writing Jefferson Davis that any Northern army which tried to march against the South would have to fight its first desperate battle at home in the North.

Douglas' greatest single service to his country was this gallant effort to recall the South, as Lincoln's election became certain, to its duty in the Union; this bold attempt to warn Southerners that any secession would mean Northern coercion and war. In that late summer of 1860 he loomed up as incomparably the bravest, wisest, and most candid statesman in the land.

It would be difficult to find a contrast more striking than that between the scenes in which Lincoln and Douglas spent election night in 1860. Lincoln, surrounded by elated, cheering crowds, went from the old Statehouse to the telegraph office in Springfield. The little capital had never heard such a roar as went up when the news came: "New York fifty thousand for Lincoln!" Cannon boomed; men and women joined in songs of victory. Douglas spent the evening in Mobile, at the office of the *Mobile Register*. To the last he had pointed to the danger of disunion and the certainty that disunion would inaugurate a bloody war. As dispatches came in pointing to Lincoln's victory, Douglas sat in growing gloom; not because his friend Honest Abe had been elected, but because he had become convinced, as he toured the South, that a great secessionist conspiracy was approaching its climax. The editor of the *Register*, Forsyth, tried to cheer him. He showed Douglas an editorial calling for a state convention to discuss Alabama's policy in the crisis. The best course for Union men here, he

said, would be to accept the general demand for a state convention, elect as many delegates as possible, and divert the proceedings into safe channels. Douglas roused himself like a lion. You are wrong, he said. If you Union men cannot prevent a convention, then you can't control the convention once it meets. But Forsyth insisted on printing the editorial. And as Douglas walked back to his hotel through the desolate streets, his secretary noticed that he was "more hopeless than I had ever before seen him."

He was hopeless because he saw into the future; saw disunion and battle just ahead. Hard experience had at last taught him prevision. If we ask which of that night's figures seems the more heroic, Lincoln or Douglas, we must answer Douglas.

Is it not true that a great deal of the spirit of Illinois history in its long formative period is concentrated in the career of Stephen A. Douglas? Here is the hurry, the strenuousness, which were necessities in the pioneer era. Here is the headlong improvisation which was natural when men had to conquer great difficulties with little more than their bare hands. Hurry, hurry!—Improvise, improvise!—these were natural watchwords in a young state. Here, too, is the reliance upon rapid material growth to atone for all the defects of rash improvisation. Our American democracy, East as well as West, has trusted much to improvisation, from the time when the Fathers improvised the Articles of Confederation to the day when Franklin D. Roosevelt improvised the NRA; in both instances with somewhat unhappy results.

Today, Illinois, like other parts of the Union, must lay more emphasis on planning. We must depend more on scientific calculations and the long look ahead. But in an age of planning, we can still preserve some of Douglas' great virtues—his unfailing pluck, his combativeness in great causes, his willingness to spend all his strength in the public service, his scorn of sectional as distinguished from national objects, and his unquenchable patriotism.

SLAVERY AND NEGRO SERVITUDE IN POPE COUNTY, ILLINOIS

BY JOHN W. ALLEN

A GREAT deal of interesting information lies unnoted in the county records of southern Illinois. In searching for data concerning the history of various counties, the author has found numerous references to slavery and to other forms of Negro servitude in this section of the state. The most valuable information is, of course, to be found in the records of the older counties. For instance, the first four deed books of Pope County contain many recordings concerning Negro slaves and servants. A part of the information gathered from these books is presented here in the belief that it will prove helpful to those interested in the history of slavery in southern Illinois, for the Pope County records are typical of those in other older counties of this part of the state.

These records reveal that the practices relating to slavery and Negro servitude in southern Illinois did not conform to the statutes enacted for their regulation. It is also evident that public officials were aware of the inconsistency and even par-

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ticipated in the evasions. Before presenting the information from Pope County, it might be well to review briefly the general history of slavery in Illinois—with such an outline in mind, the Pope County story may be better understood.

It seems that the first Negro slaves of Illinois were those brought from San Domingo by Philippe François Renault. Several hundred of these people reached Illinois about 1720 perhaps in the latter part of 1719. Some of them were used in Renault's mining ventures in northwestern Illinois and in Missouri. Others were used in farming operations about the now vanished village of St. Philippe in Monroe County. In addition to the imported slaves, a number of Indians were also held in bondage. However, the total number of slaves in the territory seems to have shown little increase after 1720. According to the *Jesuit Relations*, records of missions established by the Jesuits, there were only 300 Negroes and 60 Indians held as slaves in Illinois in 1750.

In 1763 when this territory was ceded to the English, the latter did not interfere with the practice of slavery. Hence when it came into the possession of Virginia at the end of the Revolutionary War, nothing was done to restrict the existing practice. When Virginia ceded the territory to the newly formed federal government, the French, Canadians, and other inhabitants of Kaskaskia, with those of other villages in the territory, assumed that they would be allowed to retain their properties and "ancient privileges." The Ordinance of 1787 provided that there should be no slavery nor involuntary servitude "otherwise than in the punishment of crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted." However, Governor Arthur St. Clair, of the Northwest Territory, and Governor William Henry Harrison, of the Indiana Territory, maintained that this did not affect slaves held prior to 1787, and both agreed that additional slaves could not be brought in. The law barring the introduction of more slaves was evaded by indenturing Negroes brought in after the ban had been placed

Indiana Territory, of which Illinois was then a part, legalized this practice by action of the Governing Council and by action of the Territorial Legislature, in 1803, 1805, and 1807. By these acts it was legally permissible to indenture Negro males up to thirty-five and Negro females up to thirty-two years, though indentures were generally for longer terms, on some occasions for as long as ninety-nine years. These regulations were adopted by Illinois Territory upon its separation from Indiana in 1809.

The Illinois Constitution of 1818 forbade slavery, but it did not specifically regulate against the slavery already established. To evade this provision of the new constitution, the practice of indenturing was continued, but it was legal to indenture a servant for only one year. In some instances the constitutional provision against slavery was simply ignored. Children born to an indentured Negro woman could be indentured, the boys until they were twenty-one years old, and girls until they were eighteen. Indentures already in force were not interfered with in any way. Few paid heed to this limit of time.

The legislature of the new state, in March, 1819, re-enacted the principles of the earlier territorial laws. These laws passed by the first General Assembly became known as the 'Black Laws.' Under the provisions of this act, a Negro could not become a resident of the state unless he had a certificate of freedom from a court of record. Without such a certificate the Negro could be sold for one year. Should he have the required certificate and be admitted to the state, he still could not bring suit, testify in court when a white person was concerned, or vote; nor could he travel except in very restricted areas. The whole plan seems to have been intended to drive free Negroes into voluntary indenture. The Negro's plight was indeed a sorry one.

Travelers crossing the state with their slaves and other property often expressed a desire to settle here, but some hesitated to do so because of the ban on slavery. This situation led

those citizens of Illinois who favored slavery to demand a convention to amend the state constitution and make slavery legal. A vote for such a convention was authorized by the legislature in 1823. In the general election that followed, August 2, 1824, there were 4,972 votes cast for a convention (for slavery) and 6,640 cast against a convention (against slavery). Pope County cast 273 votes for and 124 against.

This election did not end slavery in Illinois. In some counties, principally in the southern part of the state, indentured servants and slaves were held after 1824. This is shown by numerous certificates of freedom executed after that date. Though the institution of slavery was definitely disappearing, the general attitude toward the Negro could hardly be termed favorable.

In 1862 the people of Illinois voted, by a majority of 107,650, to refuse admission to Negroes. At the same time they voted by a majority of 176,271 to prohibit Negroes from voting or holding office. In 1862, a Negro in Hancock County was arrested for being in the state ten days and intending to remain permanently. He was found guilty and fined. Interested citizens appealed his case to the State Supreme Court, which in 1864 upheld the verdict of the lower court.

Such incidents as these perhaps more clearly reveal the general feeling toward Negroes than does the fact that the legislative acts of 1865 ratified the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments to the United States Constitution and repealed the "Black Laws" of 1819 and similar ones enacted in 1853.

The foregoing brief outline of the general history of slavery and the treatment of Negroes in Illinois furnishes a background for a more detailed study of Negro servitude in Pope County. The first entry concerning a Negro servant in the records at Golconda is a document filed on June 25, 1816, about six months after the formation of the county. By this indenture, Silvey, a Negro woman about twenty-four years of

age, on June 22, 1815, bound herself to serve John Morris of Gallatin County, then including portions of Pope, "for a term of forty years next ensuing."¹ Silvey received "\$400.00, in hand, paid, receipt of which is hereby acknowledged." She was also to receive "good and sufficient meat, drink, lodging and apparel together with all other needful conveniences fit for such a servant." Silvey pledged herself to "faithfully serve, obey, not absent herself from her work, and to not embezzle or waist [*sic*] her master's property." With this indenture, a bond was filed, signed by John Morris and one surety, guaranteeing that Silvey would not become a public charge of Pope County. Except for length of service pledged, this indenture complied with the law of Illinois Territory at that time. In its form it is typical of such contracts.

In the majority of indentures recorded, an entry similar to the one where Silvey acknowledges the receipt of a certain sum of money "in hand, paid, the receipt of which is hereby acknowledged" will be found. It is to be seriously doubted whether the Negroes actually received the money.

The second entry noted was a "Bill of Bargain and Sale" that states, "Know ye all men by these presents that I, Jessie Jones, of the State of Kentucky and county of Caldwell, have this day bargained and sold and delivered unto Thomas Ferguson of Illinois Territory and County of Johnson, a certain Negro Man named Jeffery about thirty years of age, and for consideration of the sum of five hundred and twenty-five dollars."² This bill of sale was filed in the office of Joshua Scott, recorder of Pope County, on November 28, 1816. Since this document is an outright bill of sale, it did not conform to the legal requirements of Illinois Territory.

The next entry concerning a servant is an indenture acknowledged before William Greenup, county clerk of Ran-

¹ Pope County Deed Record (Golconda, Ill.) A, 2.

² *Ibid.*, 4.

dolph County, and dated December 17, 1810.³ It was not recorded in Pope County until November 28, 1816. By this indenture, similar in form to the one between John Morris of Gallatin County and the Negro woman named Silvey, George, a "Negro Man" about twenty-one years of age, for a consideration of "five hundred dollars, lawful money of the United States," bound himself to serve David J. Black for the term of sixty years.

The next entry points to a method approximating outright slave trade in the Illinois Territory, since the consent of the servant is not indicated as having been secured. In this case, Louis LaChapelle of Randolph County had Isaac, a Negro man about twenty-three years of age, bound to him for a period of forty years for an indicated consideration of \$500.⁴ This indenture was acknowledged before William Greenup, county clerk of Randolph County, Illinois, on February 3, 1815. LaChapelle then made a notation on the indenture as follows: "—for value receive [*sic*] I assign [*sic*] over all my write [*sic*] to the within indenter [*sic*] unto Thomas Ferguson and hath this day delivered the above indenter [*sic*] servant as the above indenters [*sic*] calls for as witness my hand and seal this 7th day of June 1815. L. LaChapelle."

Another record indicates the outright purchase of a slave by Thomas Ferguson, a citizen of Pope County. This slave, Toney, had been purchased by Richard Thomas Porter, of Edgecomb County, North Carolina, for "200 pounds currency of North Carolina." Porter was "to have and hold forever." Then, on April 26, 1809, the following transaction was recorded: "For value received, I, Richard Thomas Porter—do assign over all my write [*sic*]—to Thomas Ferguson."⁵ Porter also "will warrant and defend title." This transaction evidently took place in Pope County, since it was acknowledged before Joshua Scott, who was serving as county clerk.

³ Pope Co. Deed Record A, 7.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 8.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 9.

David Black then appears with a "slave" named George, whom he had purchased of Thomas Dunkerson, of Christian County, Kentucky, on November 19, 1810, for \$400. This slave was sold to Thomas Ferguson on April 2, 1811.⁶ In the next recorded transaction, Wiley Davis of Eddyville, Kentucky, assigned his interest in Letty, a slave about twenty years old, and son about one year and ten months old, to Ferguson.⁷ In the following entry Ferguson bound a Negro man named Anthony for thirty years in return for a "a certain lot numbered 163 in Sarahville, now Golconda."⁸ Anthony was to have immediate possession and "enjoy the rents and profits" during his term of servitude. The value of the lot must have been negligible, since lots 161 and 168, fully as well located, sold within a year from the time of Anthony's indenture for \$3.00 each. On July 7, 1816, Jeffery, mentioned in the second entry on the county records, and previously referred to in this discussion as having been "bought" from Jessie Jones by Thomas Ferguson, voluntarily bound himself to Ferguson for a period of thirty years for lot numbered 167.⁹ This lot was not transferred to Jeffery until December 1, 1821, more than five years after he had signed the indenture. On July 27, 1816, Lettie, or Lettice, a Negro woman about twenty-eight years old, was bound to Thomas Ferguson for a period of thirty years for a lot numbered 166 in Sarahville.¹⁰ The lot mentioned was not transferred to Lettie until December 1, 1821. We next find a bill of sale whereby John Ditterline on December 18, 1816, transferred his rights to Mary, "a slave for life," to Ferguson for a consideration of \$500.¹¹ This transaction took place in Pope County as evidenced by its acknowledgment before Joshua Scott, county clerk.

⁶ Pope Co. Deed Record A, 10.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 13.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 15.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 16.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 18.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 20.

In April, 1817, Anthony, Lettie, Jeffery, and George agreed to go to Missouri Territory with Ferguson.¹² If this trip was made as indicated, it would appear that Lettie and Jeffery were later safely returned to Illinois since lots numbered 166 and 167 were transferred to them on December 1, 1821, but no later mention of either Anthony or George was found on the records.

Other indentures followed. Betty, a Negro woman about twenty-two years of age, bound herself to Samuel Langdon for a period of sixty years for a consideration of \$400.¹³ This indenture was acknowledged before Robert Lacey, judge of the county court, on February 8, 1817. Nancy Williams, a Negro woman from Missouri Territory, bound herself to Jacob Robinson for a term of twenty years for a consideration of \$500.¹⁴ This indenture was executed before Joshua Scott, county clerk of Pope County. In April, 1817, Daniel and Vina bound themselves to Joshua Scott, county recorder, for forty years. The consideration named in each case was \$400.¹⁵ These indentures for Daniel and Vina were acknowledged before Joshua Scott, and both indentures were witnessed by Prudence M. Rose and Polly Pankey.

On August 20, 1817, Anny bound herself to Isom Clay for sixteen years for a consideration of \$400.¹⁶ One week later David Turner and Millie, "late out of Jefferson County, Virginia," bound themselves to David Cowan for fifty years. A consideration of \$400 is named in each case. On January 6, 1818, Judith, about seventeen years old, "last [*sic*] of the Territory of Missouri," bound herself to William Wilson, of Pope County, for a period of ninety-nine years.¹⁷ For this term of service she is supposed to have received \$400. On February 13, 1818, Linda, a Negro woman about nineteen years old,

¹² Pope Co. Deed Record A, 21.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 22.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 23.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 25-26.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 26.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 35.

"last [*sic*] out of Missouri Territory" likewise bound herself to William Wilson for a period of ninety-nine years for a named consideration of \$400.¹⁸ This indenture would have expired on February 13, 1917.

A Negro boy named Anthony, about eighteen years old, was sold on December 14, 1820, by John Henry, of Pope County, to Elizabeth Henry, of Logan County, Kentucky, for the sum of \$612.¹⁹ This bill of sale was certified by Craven P. Hester, a justice of the peace for Pope County. This would definitely indicate the sale as taking place in Illinois. Anthony had not previously appeared in the records of the county as a slave.

According to tradition, and occasionally by implication, other outright sales of slaves occurred in Pope County after the admission of Illinois to statehood. An outright sale was made in the settlement of the estate of Larkin Kesterson, who died on May 25, 1829.²⁰ In his will, Kesterson provided "that his said executor shall sell his two Negro men, Macklin and Frank, together." This provision of the will was carried out by Robert Kesterson, father of the deceased and executor of his estate, when the Negroes were sold in November, 1829, for \$325. Neither Macklin nor Frank was previously recorded in the circuit clerk's records of slaves.

These instances of unrecorded slaves held by Kesterson, as well as the case of Anthony cited in the previous paragraph, coupled with unverified traditions, would seem to indicate that there were numerous other slaves owned in Pope County. Negro indentures were not found on the deed records in the circuit clerk's office after this date, though they are referred to in other county records.

A new turn of affairs is indicated in the next group of entries dated August 19, 1823.²¹ At that time William Beams

¹⁸ Pope Co. Deed Record A, 34.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 75.

²⁰ Pope County Probate Court Record (Golconda, Ill.) A, 70, 126.

²¹ Pope Co. Deed Record A, 326-41.

emancipated and issued certificates of freedom to twelve slaves as listed below:

Abraham.....	about sixteen years old
Martin.....	nine years old
Gilbert.....	about twenty-one years old
Cunningham.....	about eight years old
Sam.....	about twelve years old
Thomas.....	nine years old
Hetty	six weeks old
Lotty.....	about seventeen years old
Nelly.....	about forty-five years old
Rody.....	about thirteen years old
Lucky.....	about twenty-two years old
Nancy.....	about sixteen years old

These are the first emancipations found recorded in Pope County. The certificates are signed by Beams, with his mark, and are witnessed by Edmund Richmond.

The next recorded emancipations were made on February 13, 1830, when Wiley Jones granted freedom to "Chaney a woman of color twenty-six years old of low stature" and to her children, Anne, Judah, James, and Alfred.²² All this was "for and in consideration of faithful service." The emancipations made by Beams and Jones were evidently of slaves or servants held in Pope County.

The record of Fannie Mac, "a woman of color," is somewhat singular.²³ Fannie Mac purchased her son, Caesar, a slave, from Stephen Smelser, of Calway County, Kentucky, on September 14, 1835, for the sum of \$550. One hundred and fifty dollars was paid in cash and the balance by a note with security. On January 29, 1836, she, "for love and affection," emancipated Caesar. Fannie Mac thus held, for a short time, her own son as a slave.

A slightly different case was that of a slave named Lewis, brought from Arkansas to Pope County for the express purpose of emancipation on March 15, 1838.²⁴ The next year a some-

²² Pope Co. Deed Record A, 315.

²³ *Ibid.*, 620.

²⁴ Pope Co. Deed Record B, 178.

what similar case is found when Eli Roden, of Pope County, formerly of Arkansas, emancipated "Mary Ann, a woman of color, a slave," and her children, Melvina about four years old, Margaretta about three years old, and Henrietta about one year old.²⁵

David A. Smith, on March 22, 1817, secured the approval of an Alabama court and freed his slaves, William, William's wife, Isabel, and their six children. These certificates of freedom were filed for record in Pope County on November 22, 1838.²⁶

Other certificates of freedom for former slaves appear on later Pope County records. Thus, on May 10, 1845, "Moses, a man of color," after extended and complicated legal procedures, establishes the fact that he had purchased his freedom, along with that of his wife and son, from their Tennessee owner for \$1,450. In these proceedings Moses was represented by "next friend" John Stephenson.²⁷ These certificates were filed in Pope County and indicate that these Negroes became residents there.

On the same date, May 10, 1845, "Jerry, a colored man," filed his certificate of freedom in Pope County after he had failed to secure passage to Liberia from Hardeman County, Tennessee.²⁸ On May 27, of the same year, Winnie, who, after involved court procedures in Missouri and in Kentucky, won her freedom, filed the certificate in the office of the recorder in Pope County. The records in this case cover about ten pages and indicate that Winnie had been illegally in slavery for some years.²⁹

Slaves were evidently held until a comparatively late date in Pope County. This is indicated by the fact that Lucinda, and her eight children, named as slaves, were freed by the will of

²⁵ Pope Co. Deed Record B, 224.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 371.

²⁷ Pope Co. Deed Record C, 355.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 403.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 339.

William R. Adams, which was dated December 28, 1846.³⁰

One of the most interesting certificates during this period is that filed for Matthew Scott on September 22, 1846. In this certificate, the freedom of Scott and his family, consisting of a wife and nine children, is established along with the fact that Scott had received a military discharge from the "company of Captain William McCalley in the General Jackson War."³¹

On July 31, 1850, Patsey, who had been born free in Virginia, established the fact in this county by registering her certificate in the recorder's office. On the same day, Theodore Mundle, through an affidavit filed by Robert T. Leeper, established the fact that he was a free Negro and had lived with his mother in the county for the past five years.³²

In the inspection made, no later records of certificates of freedom were found on the records for Pope County.

In all cases concerning the freeing of slaves, a somewhat detailed description is given. This procedure was used so that the one emancipated could be readily identified. In the case of slaves or servants brought into the state and indentured, it was required that bonds be furnished in order to guarantee that such Negroes would not become public charges of the county. Laws of the period also required that similar bonds be filed for Negroes being emancipated. In some instances this requirement was fulfilled. In other instances no record of a bond occurs; it was in compliance with this demand that William Beams, on August 19, 1823, filed bond for \$13,000 with the county court.

The foregoing instances are cited as being indicative of the course of slavery and Negro servitude in a typical southern Illinois county. Other uncited records of slaves and indentured servants are to be found in various Pope County records. A careful search fails to reveal the later disposition of those

³⁰ Pope Co. Deed Record D, 57.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 32.

³² *Ibid.*, 497.

bound to a term of service. The records do not show that these servants and slaves were freed when the periods for which they were bound expired. Tradition likewise fails to provide an answer.



THE WINTER OF '49 AND '50—ONE HUNDRED YEARS AGO

Daniel S. Curtiss traveled extensively in Illinois, Wisconsin, and Iowa in the latter 1840's. His observations and researches led him to write *Western Portraiture, and Emigrant's Guide* (1852), which was an up-to-the-minute picture of a rapidly developing country and from which the following excerpt (pp. 240-41) is taken:

The climate of Illinois is such as would be naturally expected from the latitude in which it lies. The thermometer does not range more widely here than in similar parallels east of the Alleghany [*sic*] mountains; nor perhaps as much so as in those districts beyond the influence of the sea-breeze. . . .

The winter commences in December, and ends in February. Its duration and temperature are variable. The winters generally exhibit a temperature of climate somewhat milder than those of the Atlantic states in the same latitude. Snow rarely falls to the depth of six inches, and as rarely remains more than ten to twelve days. There are, however, occasional short periods of very cold weather; but they seldom continue longer than three or four days at a time. The Mississippi is sometimes frozen over and passed on the ice at St. Louis, and occasionally for several

weeks together. The year 1811 was remarkable for the river closing over twice—a circumstance which had not occurred before within the memory of the oldest inhabitant.

During the winter of '49-50, there was nearly three months continuous sleighing in Illinois, Wisconsin, and Iowa; a circumstance which had not occurred before for many years. The writer of this, during that winter, crossed the Mississippi in a sleigh on the ice, at Rock Island, in the first week of January; and he crossed it as far down as Keokuk, on the ice, as late as the first week in March, of the same winter. At Chicago, and along the Canal, the holidays were made the more merry by fine sleigh-riding, which is very unusual in that region. Still, the winters in these States are on the average much milder and more favorable to stock than in similar latitudes at the East.

KEEN & COOKE: PRAIRIE PUBLISHERS

BY MADELEINE B. STERN

IN the summer of 1852, a young bookseller, touring the Great Lakes with a friend, paid his first visit to Chicago. Though the streets of the city were filled with mud and dotted with unsightly rows of wooden shanties, the accounts of its sudden and marvelous growth were fabulous enough to compel his deepest interest. Chicago, it appeared, was fast becoming one of the largest book markets in the country. The center of the bookselling business in the Midwest seemed to be shifting from Cincinnati, where the young man had been apprenticed, to the city on the shores of Lake Michigan. Observing the ample stocks of the booksellers already established there, and the "Prairie Schooners" that carried their wares to the outlying country, he determined to join the westward march and set up a book business in Chicago.¹

His decision was based not only upon observation, but

¹ For the Chicago background of this period in general, and the book trade in particular, see "The Book Trade in Chicago," *American Publishers' Circular and Literary Gazette*, Vol. II, no. 39 (Sept. 27, 1856), 588, and D. B. Cooke, "My Memories of the Book Trade," *Publishers' Weekly*, Vol. IX, no. 12 (Mar. 18, 1876), 378-79.

Madeleine B. Stern wrote the present article as one of a series which she expects to gather together into a book on nineteenth-century American publishers and booksellers. Miss Stern is associated with a rare book firm in New York and has written numerous articles for periodicals and several books about American women. Her Life of Louisa May Alcott will be brought out in April by the University of Oklahoma Press. The Life of Margaret Fuller was published in 1942 by E. P. Dutton & Co. She has begun work on a third volume in this group—the life of Mrs. Frank Leslie.

upon experience, for David Brainerd Cooke had followed the book trade since he was fifteen.² Born in Northampton, Massachusetts, in 1826, the son of Daniel and Melissa Cooke, he had, at the time of his father's death in 1836, migrated by canal to the small village of Columbus, Ohio. After the usual routine of his school duties he had, in 1841, entered the bookstore of H. W. Derby, where schoolbooks, Bibles, and a full line of publications from the East vied with stationery and sheet-music, flutes and fiddles, penknives and wallpaper, Currier prints and Macassar hair oil to cater to the wants of midwestern patrons. Columbus in those days was the center of the trade, supplying Cincinnati and the entire state with books and stationery, and D. B. Cooke was in his element. Rising at five, he worked until ten at night and sometimes until midnight, spending a portion of each evening cutting out with knife and tin pattern all the envelopes that would be needed for the following day's sales. As he worked, he observed and learned, watching the wagons from neighboring mills pick up paper rags and leave writing and wrapping paper in payment. When trade became dull at home, he and his employer took a load of surplus stock and traveled into the country to sell books at auction from the tail of a wagon. Even in the early 1840's, however, the winds of fortune were shifting westward, and when H. W. Derby noticed that the greater portion of his business came from Cincinnati, he left Columbus for that city, accompanied, in the stage over the national turnpike, by his young and eager assistant, D. B. Cooke. There, in 1844, the apprentice continued his work, along with his observations, in

² For D. B. Cooke's early life and apprenticeship with H. W. Derby, see A. T. Andreas, *History of Chicago* (Chicago, 1885), II:486; Cooke, *Publishers' Weekly*, Vol. IX, no. 11, (Mar. 11, 1876), 320-22, Vol. IX, no. 12, pp. 378-79; Harriet R. W. Cooke, *The Cookes of Rhode Island. Mounted Clippings from the Newport Mercury* (Newport, 1901-1902), 168; obituaries of D. B. Cooke in *New York Times*, Oct. 23, 1884, and *Publishers' Weekly*, Vol. XXVI, no. 17 (Oct. 25, 1884), 588. For obituaries of Cooke in the *Chicago Herald*, *Chicago Times*, *Chicago Tribune*, and *Daily Inter Ocean* (all of Oct. 23, 1884), the writer is indebted to Gladys Stack, reference librarian of the Chicago Historical Society. The writer also wishes to thank Walter Sutton, Syracuse University, for his help.

the well-appointed establishment of Derby, Bradley & Company, where an elegant assortment of choice books spread the knowledge of arts and sciences through the Midwest. D. B. Cooke stayed on with the firm when it became H. W. Derby & Company, and John C. Barnes and Fletcher Harper, Jr., joined its staff, learning the secrets of the school- and law-book and stationery departments, learning always the needs and desires of the midwestern patrons whom he served.

Most important of all, he learned from his apprenticeship with Derby to follow the western shift in the trade, and, bearing letters from Judge James Hall, the Hon. Bellamy Storer, and others, he started in 1852 for Chicago. A run over the strap rails of the Little Miami and the Mad River and Lake Erie roads via Sandusky, and thence by lake steamer, brought him, after a journey of several days, to his new home.³ At 135 Lake Street he established his store,⁴ one of several literary emporia of the prairies.

Among his colleagues on Chicago's Booksellers' Row were Joseph Keen, Jr., & Brother. The "Brother" in this firm was destined to link his career one day with that of D. B. Cooke. Like Cooke, William Brantley Keen,⁵ the son of Joseph and Sarah Keen, had been born in 1826, in the East, in Philadelphia, and by 1850 had ventured to Chicago, joining his brother's firm. Unlike Cooke, he did not found a new firm, but simply carried on one that already had an interesting history in midwestern bookselling annals. As early as 1844, Brautigan & Keen, wholesale and retail booksellers and stationers,

³ Cooke described his journey to Chicago in *Publishers' Weekly*, Mar. 18, 1876, p. 379.

⁴ *Udall & Hopkins' Chicago City Directory, for 1852 & '53* (Chicago, 1852). For *Directory* information used in this article, the writer is indebted to Dr. Clarence S. Brigham, American Antiquarian Society; Roger B. Francis, New York Public Library; Herbert H. Hewitt, Chicago Public Library; J. Monaghan, Illinois State Historical Library; Paul North Rice, New York Public Library; Winifred Ver Nooy, University of Chicago; and Oscar Wegelin, New York Historical Society.

⁵ For the early life of William B. Keen, see Gregory B. Keen, *The Descendants of Jöran Kyn of New Sweden* (Philadelphia, 1913), 116; "William B. Keen," *Chicago Times-Herald*, Jan. 1, 1897; "Obituary Notes," *Publishers' Weekly*, Vol. LI, no. 3 (Jan. 16, 1897), 57.

of 146 Lake Street, had issued a *Catalogue of School, Classical, Theological, Law, Medical, And Miscellaneous Books*.⁶ They had sold, "on the most accommodating terms," an assortment of spellers, readers, arithmetics, grammars, geographies, and histories, for the need for school texts was paramount as education followed in the wake of new settlements. Lawbooks, too, had been needed for men setting up new businesses, making new contracts, joining new partnerships, and the firm of Brautigam & Keen supplied to its patrons a variety of works on conveyancing, *nisi prius*, partnership, executors, and even the rights of married women. The attention of professional gentlemen, teachers, school inspectors, country merchants, library committees, parents, and, indeed, of all who were engaged in building up a new section of the country, was called to the "valuable books in all the departments of literature" which Brautigam & Keen provided, from the publications of Eastern firms to albums and blankbooks, maps, and travelers' guides. This desire to satisfy the demands of a mid-western community continued to dominate the firm when it became known as Joseph Keen, Jr., & Brother, and as D. B. Cooke was learning the literary requirements of his new customers, William B. Keen, who would one day be associated with him, was enjoying a similar education.

It was an exciting time for a bookseller to pursue his trade in Chicago. S. C. Griggs & Company, A. H. & C. Burley, and W. W. Danenhower were all plying their flourishing businesses, until one journalist could declare that "the intellectual progress of our people fully equals the advancement of the West in material wealth and political power."⁷ Since Chicago

⁶ *Catalogue of School, Classical, Theological, Law, Medical, and Miscellaneous Books, for sale by Brautigam & Keen* (Chicago, 1844), copy in Chicago Historical Society. Brautigam & Keen came to Chicago from Philadelphia "and opened a bookstore at No. 146 Lake street in 1842." See "Chicago's Book Trade," *Chicago Times*, June 4, 1884, Supplement.

⁷ *American Publishers' Circular and Literary Gazette*, Sept. 27, 1856, p. 588. For further details of background, see "Book Business in the Northwest," *American Literary Gazette and Publishers' Circular*, Vol. V, no. 4 (June 15, 1865), 72; Historical Records Survey, *Check List of Chicago Ante-Fire Imprints, 1851-71* (*American*

had first been settled, its population had nearly doubled every four years, and by 1852, when Cooke and Keen had both set up in business there, the city had entered upon one of its most active and important periods. Already it seemed destined to become the railroad center of the country; soon its "elegant business blocks and residences," its "noble marble and iron fronts" would bear witness to its speedy climb to the position of the second city of the continent. The day was not far off when the young city would become the chief commercial emporium of the Northwest. Amid the bustle and stir of its new and expanding developments, the booksellers found their place. Both Keen and Cooke, along their separate ways, had timed their enterprises propitiously.

Under the firm name of D. B. Cooke & Company, the proprietor offered, in his Lake Street store in High and Magie' Building, a "complete stock of school, miscellaneous, law, and medical books and stationery."⁸ As constantly multiplying railroads rapidly opened up the surrounding country, he found an eager market for his stock in the outlying districts of Chicago. Strangers visiting the city were invited to call at the "elegant Book Establishment of D. B. Cooke & Company," where they might find "constantly on hand the largest stock of Book and Stationery in the Western Country," offered "at Eastern prices." Country merchants and booksellers were assured that they would find it to their interest to lay in their supplies at D. B. Cooke's "Great Western Book Concern." Country libraries would be furnished at Eastern rates, and country dealers, druggists, and booksellers were urged to examine the shelves of 135 Lake Street before purchasing elsewhere.

Yet, even at this early period in the life of D. B. Cooke &

Imprints Inventory No. 4, Chicago, 1938), iii; *Fifth Annual Review of the Commerce, Manufactures, and the Public and Private Improvements of Chicago* (Chicago, 1857), 16.

⁸ Cooke, *Publishers' Weekly*, Mar. 18, 1876, p. 379. For the early bookselling activities of D. B. Cooke & Company, see also "Chicago's Book Trade," *Publisher's Weekly*, Vol. XXVI, no. 1 (July 5, 1884), 12, and *D. B. Cooke & Company's New Law Book List* (Chicago, n.d.), copy in Chicago Historical Society.

Company, the bookseller's interest centered not only upon serving the Midwest as a wholesale dealer, but upon establishing a reputation as a lawbook specialist. One of the firm's earliest extant catalogues, an undated sixteen-page brochure issued from 135 Lake Street, is entitled *D. B. Cooke & Company's New Law Book List*. It calls the attention of the profession to a stock "as large and various as that of any dealers in the United States," and suggests that members of the bar write or make personal application at 135 Lake Street instead of purchasing from traveling dealers or the agents of Eastern houses. Orders for lawbooks would be promptly filled; new books and state reports were regularly received and supplied; and at the cost of one cent an ounce the volumes would be sent by mail. The list itself substantiates Cooke's assertions. At prices ranging from \$1.00 to \$130, every variety of book appealing to the midwestern legal profession was offered, from Curtis' *American Conveyancer* to Addison on *Contracts*. Books on equity or tide waters, criminal law and state reports, sheriffs and railway cases, the law of divorce and partnership, fixtures and patents were available at 135 Lake Street, for, as the Midwest expanded, the need for legalizing claims and partnerships expanded with it.

D. B. Cooke had so astutely judged the needs of his patrons that by 1856 his quarters proved too limited for his business, and he moved to the "elegant store" erected by Edward and Walter Wright at 112 Lake Street. The removal was of such interest that the Chicago correspondent of the *New York Evening Post* devoted considerable space to it in an article which was entitled "Growth of Chicago—The Book Trade":

Among the improvements here going on you will regard none with more interest and pleasure than the multiplying and enlarging of the bookstores. The old ones grow straight; they are eked out with additions; they become taller, broader and more beautiful, until now Chicago is to have as splendid and capacious bookstores as are to be found in the new world.

Chief among those now building is that for which A. [sic] B. Cooke & Company are to become the occupants.⁹

With no little optimism, Cooke had leased the white, cut marble building for a period of ten years at \$8,000 a year. Yet his ambitions seemed justified. In the short time in which he had been in business in Chicago he had finally attained sales amounting to nearly \$200,000 in one year. His lawbook sales reached between \$40,000 and \$50,000 a year, and the horizon of his trade comprehended Iowa, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Indiana, Kansas, and Michigan, as well as Illinois.

In the making of Chicago's books, as well as in selling them, D. B. Cooke was to play an important role. Between 1855 and 1861 his imprint appeared upon a variety of works that would appeal either to the legal profession or those more generally interested in the westward expansion of the country. Besides selling "the largest stock of law books in the western country," Cooke advertised himself as "publisher of all the *local* books needed by the Western Lawyer."¹⁰ It is, for the most part, therefore, those books that catered to the demands of the profession in the Midwest that bore the imprint of D. B. Cooke & Company. *The Charter and Ordinances of the City of Chicago* appeared under his aegis, with the proud note that "the correctness and beauty of its typography, neatness and style of its binding, are evidence that Chicago is not surpassed

⁹ *New York Evening Post*, Sept. 27, 1856. The article was reprinted in "Literary Intelligence," *American Publishers' Circular and Literary Gazette*, Vol. II, no. 40 (Oct. 4, 1856), 603. D. B. Cooke's "New Marble Building" and his stock are described in an advertisement on the second page of the cover of the *Fifth Annual Review of the Commerce of Chicago*. For his bookselling activities there, see also D. B. Cooke & Company's *Catalogue of Books for Public, Private and School Libraries* (Chicago n.d.). At this time, in 1856, Cooke bought the stock of A. H. Burley & Company. See *Chicago Times*, June 14, 1884, Supplement.

¹⁰ Advertisement of D. B. Cooke & Company's publications in *American Publishers' Circular and Literary Gazette*, Vol. VI, no. 12 (Mar. 24, 1860), 149. For Cooke's various publications, see, besides the works themselves, his advertisements on a bill of Aug. 24, 1860, on the front fly leaf of *D. B. Cooke & Co.'s Chicago City Directory, for 1860-61* (Chicago, 1860); the announcements of his publications in *American Publishers' Circular and Literary Gazette* Vol. IV, no. 9 (Feb. 27, 1858), 99, Vol. IV, no. 40 (Oct. 2, 1858), 475, and Vol. V, no. 10 (Mar. 5, 1859), 110. See also *Check List of Chicago Ante-Fire Imprints*; file of Chicago imprints in New York Public Library; O. Roorbach, *Addenda to the Bibliotheca Americana, 1855-1858* (New York, 1939).

by the older cities in the elaboration of these noble arts."¹¹ When the Supreme Court ruled that abstracts of state cases were to be "printed in a neat and workmanlike manner, with small pica type, and leaded lines,"¹² the publishing of the *Illinois Reports* was assigned to D. B. Cooke & Company. And the state legislature purchased \$15,000 worth of the firm's *Statutes of Illinois* at one session.

One of Cooke's lawbooks was of particular interest in the growth of the Midwest. Barry's *Theory and Practice of the International Trade of the United States* devoted a chapter to "The North-West, and Its Outlets to the Ocean," and contained the following expression of regionalism in its preface:

It is high time that American capitalists on the seaboard, . . . were informed of the outs and ins of Western trade, and in an especial manner brought into more immediate sympathy with Illinois. Here, . . . is to be found the greatest accumulation of human food, raised with the least expenditure of capital and labor, and yet that accumulation finds its way to shipping ports, in a manner calculated to keep production down to the lowest point. . . . What has built up New York and every other great commercial centre, but direct communication with other countries? and what but that can develop fully the productive forces of the West? We want the cottons of Manchester, the stuffs of Bradford, and the silks of Lyons and Spitalfields, put down where the wheat and corn are grown. . . . The West and Chicago are ripe and able for European enterprise.¹³

Chicago was ripe, also, for midwestern Americana, and D. B. Cooke was ready to publish such works. His imprint appeared on *A Handbook to the Gold Fields of Nebraska and Kansas*; on Bonney's *Banditti of the Prairies*, "an authentic narrative of thrilling adventures in the early settlement of the western country"; on Mrs. Kinzie's *Wau-Bun, the "Early Day" in the Northwest*, the author of which naïvely gave evidence in her preface to the increasing interest in the country's past:

¹¹ George W. and John A. Thompson, *The Charter and Ordinances of the City of Chicago* (Chicago, 1856), vi.

¹² E. Peck, *Reports of Cases Determined in the Supreme Court of the State of Illinois* (Chicago, 1856), XVI: xii.

¹³ P. Barry, *The Theory and Practice of the International Trade of the United States* (Chicago, 1858), 7-8.

It never entered the anticipations of the most sanguine that the march of improvement and prosperity would, in less than a quarter of a century, have so obliterated the traces of "the first beginning," that a vast and intelligent multitude would be crying out for information in regard to the early settlement of this portion of our country.¹⁴

Cooke was ready to publish works that would give this information, as well as books by leading Chicago writers, such as Benjamin F. Taylor's *January and June*. He was prepared to issue not only those works that uncovered the past, but those that would themselves make history, lending his imprint to a *Life of Stephen A. Douglas by a Member of the Western Bar*, and to Burnham's *Martyr-Crisis*. In addition, he published works of a more practical nature, railway maps indispensable to tourists, shippers, and railway companies: the *Great Western Railway Guide*, a *Railway Map of the Great West*, a *Miniature Map of the Western States*. Annually, between 1858 and 1860, his imprint appeared upon the *Chicago City Directory*, the publisher's announcement of which is a remarkable index to the rapid growth of sectionalism in the Midwest: "It will be noticed that this is a home enterprise. No advertisements of Eastern houses have been solicited, believing this city able to support her own *Institutions*."¹⁵

Upon the cover of Cooke's first issue of that *Directory* in 1858 appears an advertisement that tells the story of the vicissitudes of his firm. A phoenix rising from the ashes is flanked by two printed sections: DESTROYED BY FIRE OCTOBER 19, 1857; RE-OPENED IN PORTLAND BLOCK, JANUARY, 1858.¹⁶ In the Lake Street fire of 1857, when water was scarce and the flames raged long and fiercely, some half a million dollars' worth of Chicago property was lost, and though he had prospered from the start of his career, D. B. Cooke sustained a staggering blow. In spite of the fact that he

¹⁴ Mrs. John H. Kinzie, *Wau-Bun, the "Early Day" in the Northwest* (Chicago 1857), vi.

¹⁵ D. B. Cooke & Company's *Directory of Chicago for . . . 1858* (Chicago, 1858) iii.

¹⁶ *Directory of Chicago for 1858*.

was insured "in responsible offices" for \$75,000, he was burned out and nearly beggared. The fire of 1857 was a prelude to another, greater fire that would affect him later in his history, and that was a prelude to the panic that would engulf so many Chicago firms. Though he moved, first to the Portland Block and then to 111, and 115 Lake Street, continuing the sale and publication of books for the Midwest, by 1863, when doubtless the Civil War had increased his difficulties, he was forced, albeit temporarily, to abandon his establishment, having sold out to his former associate, E. B. Myers.¹⁷ H. W. Derby, his employer in Columbus and Cincinnati, had once served as express agent in Ohio, and Cooke, having published a variety of railway maps and guides, found himself naturally drawn to the American Express Company, for which he acted as Chicago agent and correspondent until 1864.¹⁸ At that time he resigned his position to join the staff of S. C. Griggs & Company, in whose "palace of books" he served first as clerk and later as partner, giving to the organization "that practical energy . . . and that popularity which has always attended his business intercourse with the public." In 1868, however, that firm's magnificent stock was also destroyed by fire, and Cooke withdrew, ready at long last to restore his own name to the shingles of Booksellers' Row.¹⁹

Meantime, during the years between 1852 and 1868, the man who was to be Cooke's partner had also played his role in

¹⁷ For the fire of 1857, and Cooke's selling out, see *Publishers' Weekly*, July 5, 1884, p. 12; Joseph Kirkland, *The Story of Chicago* (Chicago, 1892), 236; "Literary Intelligence," *American Publishers' Circular and Literary Gazette*, Vol. III, no. 43 (Oct. 24, 1857), 670. E. B. Myers is listed as "successor to D. B. Cooke & Company" in the Chicago directory of 1862-63.

¹⁸ For Cooke's service with the American Express Company, see Andreas, *History of Chicago*, II: 126; A. L. Stinson, *History of the Express Business* (New York, 1881), 198—courtesy N. F. Page, American Express Company.

¹⁹ For Cooke's association with Griggs, see advertisement of S. C. Griggs in *Chicago Evening Journal*, Nov. 3, 1866; "Book Business in the Northwest," *American Literary Gazette and Publishers' Circular*, June 15, 1865, p. 72; Cooke, *Publishers' Weekly*, Mar. 18, 1876, p. 379. Jack C. Morris, "The Publishing Activities of S. C. Griggs and Company . . ." (M.S. thesis, University of Illinois, 1941), 35, 37, 38; "Notes on Books and Booksellers," *American Literary Gazette and Publishers' Circular*, Vol. VII, no. 1 (May 1, 1866), 4.

midwestern publishing history. The firm with which he had been associated, Joseph Keen, Jr., & Brother, had become Keen & Lee in 1855. At their four-story "Mammoth Book Store" on Lake Street, William B. Keen and Franklin Lee offered a stock "unrivalled in quantity and variety."²⁰ As wholesale booksellers they provided, like their colleague, D. B. Cooke, a large assortment of school, medical, theological, miscellaneous, and lawbooks, together with a stock of fine English stationery, Congress papers, and record books. Town and country libraries were supplied at liberal discounts; country merchants were offered generous terms; and all the books recommended by the State Superintendent of Public Instruction were constantly on hand. Through their connections with large importing and manufacturing establishments both in Europe and the eastern United States, Keen & Lee were enabled to augment their stock for their patrons in the Northwest. In addition, the firm published works similar to those that bore the imprint of D. B. Cooke, sponsoring such legal publications as Haines's *Probate Manual* and such items of midwestern Americana as *The Western Farmer's . . . Handbook*, Parker's *Iowa as It Is*, Gerhard's *Illinois as It Is*, and Frazier's *Minnesota as It Is*. What is more, some of the identical works published by D. B. Cooke, such as the *Illinois Statutes* and Haines's *Treatise on Illinois Justices of the Peace*, had previously borne the Keen & Lee imprint. From the start, therefore, the two firms evinced similar interests and catered to similar tastes.

By 1859, after D. B. Cooke had sustained his loss by fire and had moved to 111 Lake Street, Franklin Lee had died and William B. Keen had established his own business at 148 Lake Street. There he remained until 1868, continuing the policy

²⁰ Advertisement of Keen & Lee's Mammoth Book Store in N. Howe Parker, *Iowa as It Is* (Chicago, 1855). For the bookselling and publishing activities of this firm, see also their announcements in *American Publishers' Circular and Literary Gazette*, Vol. II, no. 6 (Feb. 9, 1856), 78; their "Catalogue of Goods" in Fred Gerhard, *Illinois as It Is* (Chicago, 1857); *Check List of Chicago Ante-Fire Imprints*; file of Chicago imprints in New York Public Library.

that had long ago been inaugurated by Brautigam & Keen, selling at wholesale and at retail the lawbooks and school texts in which the Midwest evinced so deep an interest, and publishing under his own imprint such legal tomes as *The Revised Statutes of Wisconsin* and Haines's *Laws of Wisconsin concerning the Organization . . . of Towns*. His success was such that in 1867 his sales were said to have been \$614,835.²¹

Through the years both Keen and Cooke had played their parts in a history in the making. Both were born in 1826 and had themselves followed the westward trend, migrating to Chicago at about the same time, and serving its developing tastes and interests in the books they sold and published. What, then, seemed more appropriate than that when D. B. Cooke was ready to return to Booksellers' Row he should enter into partnership with the neighbor and colleague whose career had so closely paralleled his own?

The names of W. B. Keen and D. B. Cooke were first linked together in the Chicago directory of 1869, where they are listed at 113 and 115 State Street. A picture of this Booksellers' Row of a later Chicago²² shows the establishment where, in a marble block shared by S. C. Griggs and the Western News Company, the two industrious booksellers plied their trade together. With "shelves and show-cases crowded, and enormous stacks of books, . . . rising from every available square foot of the floor,"²³ the firm did a business estimated at over \$500,000 in the general trade, schoolbooks, and fancy

²¹ For the activities of the William B. Keen firm, see his advertisement in Elijah A. Haines, *Laws of Wisconsin Concerning the Organization and Government of Towns* (Chicago, 1858); *Check List of Chicago Ante-Fire Imprints*; file of Chicago imprints in New York Public Library. Morris, "The Publishing Activities of S. C. Griggs and Company," 40.

²² In Paul Gilbert and Charles Lee Bryson, *Chicago and Its Makers* (Chicago, 1929), 264.

²³ A. D. R.[ichardson], "Western Bibliography: The Book Trade of the North-west," *New York Tribune*, Oct. 16, 1869. The premises of the Western News Company, S. C. Griggs, and W. B. Keen & Cooke are described there as "the finest group of book stores in the world," renting from \$16,000 to \$20,000 apiece. See also J. B. Munroe, "Our Aesthetical Development," *The Lakeside Monthly*, Vol. VII, no. 37 (Jan., 1872), 20.

stationery. The three great Chicago firms were said to be "unsurpassed, either in this country or . . . Europe" in the magnitude and variety of their collections, which "embraced the whole circuits of knowledge." Their combined sales were declared to reach \$2,500,000 annually.

A letter now in the possession of the American Anti-



quarian Society²⁴ depicts the new device in which, beneath a globe flanked by a bust of Minerva and a torch, and embellished with scrolls and books, the names of W. B. Keen and Cooke are united. That letter, incidentally, bears interesting witness to the business technique of the new firm. Addressed to Lee and Shepard of Boston, it intercedes on behalf of the physician, Dr. William Byford, whose medical works had apparently not been enjoying as rapid a sale as his publishers, Lee and Shepard, expected. Cooke, writing now as a member of W. B. Keen & Cooke, suggested to the Boston publishers: "Suppose you get up a slip circular and send out a supply with imprints. Send us a few hundred and we will put them in our correspondence. Your orders will increase." The suggestion was based upon experience, for the new firm was not unfamiliar with medical publications, having issued under their combined imprint a work on the *Proving of Carbo-lic Acid* by a member of the Hahnemann Medical College in Chicago.²⁵ On the whole, however, they seem to have specialized, during this early period of their union, in the book-selling and stationery fields, and, combining experience in the trade with untiring industry, they succeeded so well that they

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²⁴ D. B. Cooke to Lee and Shepard, Chicago, June 21, 1870.

²⁵ Temple S. Hoyne, ed., *Proving of Carbo-lic Acid*, by T. Bacmeister (Chicago, 1869). The item is no. 1541 in *Check List of Chicago Ante-Fire Imprints*.

were not overwhelmed by the great Chicago disaster of 1871.

On October 8 and 9, 1871, the great Chicago fire²⁶ raged through the city, bringing destruction to industry of all types, and not the least to the book trade. The losses of that trade were extremely heavy. Many of the smaller dealers were so overwhelmed by the catastrophe that they were forced out of business. Though the actual loss of plates and manuscripts was comparatively light, the general loss to publishers was so great that for a time they were discouraged from the experiment of issuing new books that did not bear an Eastern imprint. Nearly every publisher was burned out, and many of the largest bookstores fell together in smoking ruin. Wiping out almost every building in the city, the fire did not spare locally printed books and pamphlets, and those which did survive, including some that bore a Keen or Cooke imprint, are classed today as the relatively rare Chicago ante-fire imprints.

W. B. Keen & Cooke went down with their companions in the trade. Insured for \$130,000, they sustained a loss of approximately \$175,000. Yet, though the firm's establishment was totally destroyed by fire, trade was immediately resumed in a temporary building on the lake shore. The continuing prosperity of the firm, even in its temporary quarters, is indicated by a letter of October 2, 1872, from John Fairbanks to Lee and Shepard. When Keen & Cooke were preparing to settle in their new store, they offered Fairbanks the temporary quarters at a rental of \$1,500 a year. Fairbanks, who had been connected with the American



FROM LETTER by D. B. Cooke to Lee and Shepard, May 10, 1872 (Courtesy Dr. Brigham).

²⁶ For the fire, and its effects upon the book trade and upon Keen, Cooke, see Andreas, *History of Chicago* III: 684; *Check List of Chicago Ante-Fire Imprints*, iii; Cooke, *Publishers' Weekly*, Mar. 18, 1876, p. 379; Kirkland, *The Story of Chicago*, 289; "The Stationery and Fancy Trades," *Publishers' Weekly*, Vol. I, no. 1 (Jan. 18, 1872), 7; "Tribute to a Chicago Publisher," *Publishers' Weekly*, Vol. XXII, no. 19 (Nov. 4, 1882), 612; G. P. Upton, "Institutions of Art, Science, Literature," *The Lakeside Monthly*, Jan., 1872, p. 81.

Tract Society and later became a publisher in his own right, wished the advice of Lee and Shepard before making a decision, and accordingly wrote as follows to the Boston firm:

I have this day heard of a good thing, and my Yankee pluck urges me to avail myself of it. But I cannot without help. I will State the case. Soon after the fire, Keen, Cooke & Co built a brick store on Wabash Avenue for their retail trade. There they have stayed until the present. but on Nov 1st they intend to leave it for their new quarters back in the burnt district. This leaves the Store for rent & Mr Cooke offered it to me for \$1500. per year He Showed me his books, Showing that they had retailed there, in the past 10 mos over \$42,000. & he calculated that it would reach \$75,000. by Jan 1st if they remained there. That Shows what can be done in that locality. To be sure their name brought a great many customers, but it Seems to me, that if I continued right on there, I could retain a greater Share of the trade.²⁷

Both their reputation and their prosperity followed Keen & Cooke to their new store on the old State Street site. By 1872, when many of Chicago's businesses were returning to the "Burnt District," a Chicago correspondent could make the following almost paradoxical report on the firm:

Messrs. Keen, Cooke & Company are now taking the lead here in the general book trade. This is due, in a large measure, to their wise policy in providing themselves with spacious and convenient quarters immediately after the fire, and thus having the stock room, and will to do all the business that came to them at a time when the other dealers were unfortunately crowded into narrow and confined space. The result of the fire, therefore, has been rather to widely extend and stimulate their business than to cripple it.²⁸

Through their own perspicacity and foresight Keen & Cooke had, for the time at least, wrested triumph from disaster.

Their new establishment, the Williams and Ferry Building, presented to the city one of the finest marble fronts in Chicago. It was planned with special reference to the book trade, its five stories being shared by Keen and Cooke and A. S. Barnes & Company. According to an enthusiastic reporter,

The retail department on the first floor, . . . is beautifully and systematically arranged, the shelves on either side being apportioned according to their

²⁷ MS, American Antiquarian Society. For Fairbanks' activities, see the Chicago directories of 1870-72 and 1874-75.

²⁸ *Publishers' Weekly*, Vol. II, no. 23 (Dec. 5, 1872), 631.

respective importance to the various American and foreign publishers, and the books therein being alphabetically arranged so that every clerk can lay his hand on any book even in the dark. Busts of prominent authors, ancient and modern, appropriately adorn and dignify these separate alcoves. The room is lighted with reflectors . . . and all other appurtenances are of like appropriateness and elegance.²⁹

The basement was devoted to schoolbooks, stationery, and inks, while the second story was used for packing and small stationery. All the departments were connected, and communication was by a steam elevator as well as by spacious stairways.

Altogether the establishment presents a very attractive appearance, whether to the lover or purchaser of books, and excels, in outward appearance at least, anything we have ever had in Chicago in the way of a book store.³⁰

The time had come in the annals of Keen, Cooke & Company, when their combined knowledge of the publishing business might yield results as successful as those that accrued to them from bookselling. Even so seemingly an innocuous work as *David Swing's Sermons*, published by the firm in 1874, led to a flurry of excitement. Jansen, McClurg & Company had issued a selection of Swing's sermons when the author stood trial for heresy. Hoping to share in the profits from the local publicity, Keen and Cooke published *Swing's Sermons*, the plates of which they had bought from the *Chicago Pulpit*. As a result the firm incurred the wrath of the author, who protested against the interference with his own arrangements for publication, as well as that of the rival company.³¹

Because of the publicity attending this work, Keen and Cooke were ready to turn to less hazardous sources for their publications. Both members of the firm had specialized in publishing lawbooks. Both had shown an interest in the works of native writers. An opportunity soon presented itself for

²⁹ *Publishers' Weekly*, Dec. 5, 1872, p. 632.

³⁰ *Publishers' Weekly*, Dec. 5, 1872, p. 632.

³¹ For details regarding *David Swing's Sermons* (Chicago, 1874), see "Literary and Trade News," *Publishers' Weekly*, Vol. V, no. 20 (May 16, 1874), 478, and Morris, "The Publishing Activities of S. C. Griggs and Company," 86.

uniting these two fields in publications that would be far more popular than any that had ever borne their imprints. Allan Pinkerton, the great detective, surely had legal connections, and his Detective Agency in Chicago had become one of the city's most famous institutions. His writings, therefore, would have some legal interest, would represent the work of a local celebrity, and, what is more, would enjoy a popular appeal that the *Statutes of Illinois* or the *Chicago Charter* could never attain.

In November, 1874, Keen, Cooke & Company issued the first volume in a series of works by Pinkerton, entitled *The Expressman and the Detective*. The publishers prefaced the book with a notice, announcing that:

The present Volume is the first of a series of Mr. Allan Pinkerton's thrilling and beautifully written Detective Stories, all true to life—founded upon incidents in the experience of the great chief of all detectives. . . . That these Volumes will meet with a cordial reception we have no doubt.³²

The publishers' high hopes were soon realized. In less than sixty days after its publication, 15,000 copies of *The Expressman and the Detective* had been sold, and later in 1875 the total sale reached 20,000. Since "its almost unparalleled success clearly showed not only the public interest in Mr. Pinkerton, but, also, in the facts upon which the tale was founded,"³³ the publishers were quick to issue further volumes in the series. *Claude Melnotte as a Detective, and Other Stories* consequently made its bow to the public, heralded by still another notice from the publishers:

In presenting the second volume of Allan Pinkerton's stories to the public, the publishers need only refer briefly to the world-wide reputation of the author: his name is known everywhere throughout the United States, Canada, and Great Britain as the Master Detective of the time, and his experience in his profession has been so varied that he can verify, in many of the incidents of his own life, that "truth is stranger than fiction."³⁴

³² For further details of the firm's Pinkerton publications, see the advertisement in *Publishers' Weekly*, Vol. VII, no. 22 (May 29, 1875), 582.

³³ Allan Pinkerton, *Claude Melnotte as a Detective, and Other Stories* (Chicago, 1875), publishers' notice.

³⁴ Pinkerton, *Claude Melnotte*, publishers' notice.

Beautifully illustrated with full-page engravings, bound in the best style with black and gold ornamentation, the volumes, priced at \$1.50, were eagerly read by those who delighted in the ingenuity of forgers and the investigation of robberies. *The Detective and the Somnambulist. The Murderer and the Fortune Teller* joined a series that had achieved a reception "never before known in the annals of book publishing. . . . Sea-birds are not more invariably attracted toward a lighted beacon on a dark night"³⁵ than readers to Pinkerton's thrilling detective stories. Advertised as popular books for summer reading, these Keen, Cooke publications were for sale by all booksellers, newsmen, and train boys in the United States, and were joined by another work which doubtless appealed to the same class of reader that consumed Pinkerton's tales with such avidity, *The Mysteries of the Head and the Heart Explained* by Professor J. Stanley Grimes, the "Popular Lecturer." "Buy this book," readers were advised, "and you will not regret it."³⁶ For \$2.00, they could learn all about phrenology, mesmerism, trance, the spirit delusion, ghost-seeing, and mind-reading. And in return, the State Street publishers, having catered to popular taste in books, could reap the rewards of their enterprise.

Keen and Cooke demonstrated their industry and perspicacity during this period by still another device to stimulate a general interest in books. Between 1874 and 1876, they published *The Owl*, a literary monthly edited by William F. Poole and designed to attract public attention to the latest activities of the press. A four-page folio sheet, sold for twenty-five cents a year and given free to librarians, *The Owl* was "the organ of everything educational and elevational," as well as of everything pertaining to the State Street emporium. In addition to brief notes on auction sales, lecture managers, and sundry

³⁵ Pinkerton, *Claude Melnotte*, advertisement at end.

³⁶ Pinkerton, *The Detective and the Somnambulist* (Chicago, 1875), advertisement at end.

literary activities, the monthly included a list of new publications and an "Editor's Book Table," which contained reviews of books that might be "found in the extensive stock" of W. B. Keen, Cooke & Company. Each issue was enhanced by a cut of an owl on the first page and an oval vignette of the "editor" viewing a variety of books. The monthly served the double purpose of acquainting the public with the literary news of the day and of advertising the publications and stock of Keen & Cooke.³⁷

In 1876, D. B. Cooke was able to take time to supply for *Publishers' Weekly* an account of his "Memories of the Book Trade." In it he exalted "the glorious profession of circulating good books," and expressed in an interesting manner his bookseller's credo:

Taste and refinement are called for in every department of our trade. . . . To be an educated bookseller in these latter days is something to be proud of. We are the almoners to the hungry souls who yearn for literary food. . . .

Let us not be weary in well-doing, and though we may meet with drawbacks and pullbacks in various ways by "fire and flood," we who have borne the burden in the heat of the day, may hope to reach a competence that will enable us to enjoy a good old age, . . . in the midst of a prosperous business.³⁸

This hope was, unfortunately, not to be fulfilled. Though they had withstood the ravages of fire, another disaster was still to be faced from which the firm would not emerge unscathed. The Panic of 1873 had been followed by years of extreme business depression that affected industries throughout the country. The Chicago book trade suffered along with other businesses, and by 1877, despite the eager reception of the Pinkerton series, the firm of Keen and Cooke could no longer survive. The business and personal extravagances of the members appear to have been contributing factors in their fail-

³⁷ *The Owl*, Vol. I, no. 3 (Dec., 1874), and Vol. II, no. 2 (Feb., 1876), file at Yale University Library. For other periodicals in which D. B. Cooke & Company and W. B. Keen, Cooke & Company were interested, see Franklin W. Scott, *Newspapers and Periodicals of Illinois, 1814-1879* (Illinois Historical Collections, VI, Springfield, 1910), 57, 70, 124.

³⁸ *Publishers' Weekly*, Mar. 25, 1876. DP. 403-5.

ire, as a letter from A. D. Waldron, of Waldron, Niblock & Company, coal dealers in Chicago, to William Lee, testifies:

Their failure was not a surprise to me, although I thought they would worry through the winter, but I was satisfied that they must eventually go to the wall. . . .

You must bear in mind this is the third time this has occurred with them and I am satisfied that this failure was unavoidable at this time—it might have been avoided by them had they done differently. They are the most extravagant men for their means you ever saw—Their rent was \$18,000 per year, reduced however somewhat recently by re-renting some portion of their apartments—Their business expenses were enormous, extravagantly so—Their personal expenses, and of their families I refer now to the family of W. B. Keen were lavish, and of a character that the present condition of affairs will not justify in any one who owes money on which he is doing business.

I think they struggled as long as they could, & had at last to surrender—condition they might have avoided if they had commenced in season—I resume they may wish to make a compromise.³⁹

The announcement that W. B. Keen, Cooke & Company had failed was made on January 27, 1877. Their liabilities were about \$100,000 and their assets nominally much larger. A compromise was expected which would enable the firm to resume business.⁴⁰ On February 21, at a creditors' meeting in the rooms of the Stationers' Board of Trade, the "compromise" was arranged, W. B. Keen agreeing to pay one hundred cents on the dollar by paying twenty-five cents in cash and the balance in equal installments in one, two, and three years without interest.⁴¹ The firm, however, did not resume business. Instead, two new firms emerged from the old one, that of W. B. Keen & Company, and that of D. B. Cooke & Company. For a short time, in stores on Madison Street, the two establishments again pursued their separate ways, W. B. Keen & Company devoting itself exclusively to the wholesale jobbing trade in books and stationery, and D. B. Cooke succeeding to the retail business of the old concern with a full stock of miscellaneous books

³⁹ Feb. 6, 1877 (MS, American Antiquarian Society).

⁴⁰ "Business Notes," *Publishers' Weekly*, Vol. XI, no. 4 (Jan. 27, 1877), 91.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, no. 9 (Mar. 3, 1877), 250.

including those which were described as particularly "rare and curious."⁴²

It was not long, however, before both booksellers found that, while they had matched their own youth with that of Chicago, expanding as the Midwest expanded, they could not survive the developments of a latter-day Chicago. The original interests of W. B. Keen, Cooke & Company eventually passed into the hands of Charles H. Kerr & Company,⁴³ which later became known as a Socialist publishing house, and the name of Keen and Cooke was consigned to oblivion—save for its imprints, its catalogues, and its letterheads.

In 1880, having abandoned the book trade forever, D. E. Cooke returned to his former employers, the American Express Company, serving as manager of the order and commission department and later as purchasing agent.⁴⁴ W. B. Keen followed him into the commission field, acting for a time as commission merchant in the Chamber of Commerce.⁴⁵ Death cut short Cooke's activities, for in October, 1884, he succumbed to a heart ailment. Keen lived on until December 31, 1896 when, in his native city of Philadelphia, he followed the footsteps of his former associate for the last time.

During these years, though the name of Cooke was absent from Chicago's Booksellers' Row, that of Keen still persisted. William B. Keen's nephew, Joseph B. Keen, who had been associated with the firm of Keen and Cooke, was connected with a succession of stationery and printing concerns, from that of Keen & Brown to that of Keen & De Lang, and the present firm of De Lang, Coles and Company, commercial

⁴² "Business Notes," *Publishers' Weekly*, Vol. XI, no. 14 (April 7, 1877), 40.

⁴³ "Obituary Notes: Joseph B. Keen," *Publishers' Weekly*, Vol. LVIII, no. (Aug. 11, 1900), 356.

⁴⁴ For Cooke's later association with the American Express, and his death, see Chicago directories, 1880-84; *Chicago Times*, Oct. 23, 1884; *Publishers' Weekly*, Oct. 25, 1884, p. 588; Stimson, *History of the Express Business*, 204.

⁴⁵ For Keen's commission business and death, see Chicago directories of 1886 and 1886; "W. B. Keen," *Chicago Tribune*, Jan. 1, 1897 (courtesy Dr. Clarence Brigham, American Antiquarian Society and A. B. Evans, Library of Congress); *Publishers' Weekly*, Jan. 16, 1897, p. 57.

printers, traces its history back to Brautigam and Keen.⁴⁶ In their own right, William B. Keen and David B. Cooke merit a niche in the history of the Chicago book trade. They had not only followed the westward march of civilization, but had played a significant role in the expansion of the Midwest.



⁴⁶ For these firms, see "Business Notes," *Publishers' Weekly*, Vol. XIX, no. 22 (May 28, 1881), 563; Chicago directories of 1881-83 and 1888-94; *Publishers' Weekly*, Aug. 11, 1900, p. 356. Information from Mary-Serene Saxby, De Lang, Coles and Company, Chicago.

PIONEER ILLINOIS LIBRARY

BY R. LOUISE TRAVOUS

IT is reasonable to assume that a library had been established in Edwardsville before May 29, 1819, when the first issue of Hooper Warren's *Spectator* came off the local press. It is certain the young town's pioneer library was well beyond the infant stage before August of that year. Headed "Edwardsville Library" and signed "A Director," the following appeared in that newspaper's columns on August 7, 1819:

It will no doubt be gratifying to the proprietors of this institution to know that the books lately ordered from Boston have arrived. Those subscribers who are in arrears it is hoped will come forward, and, by paying up entitle themselves and families to the use of one of the best collections of books in the country.

Four months later, November 30, 1819, Hooper Warren turned off his press "A Complete CATALOGUE of all the Books now in, or belonging to, the EDWARDSVILLE LIBRARY." The one-page catalogue was "Drawn for the use of the Share-holders, at the Library Room" by John H. Randle Librarian. History books were in the majority—they were the pioneers' professional journals. These pioneers were making

Miss R. Louise Travous has long been actively interested in the history of the area around her Edwardsville home. She has accumulated an extensive collection of century-old publications and also has a complete file of the Edwardsville Democrat (1881-1924). For thirty years she has made a practice of interviewing old-timers for local historical data. Her literary work includes the writing and production of "A Pageant of Fort Russell" (1811-1815), which was presented in 1946 at the site of the old fort.

history. They had fought wars establishing a nation and were spreading that nation across a continent. The volumes numbered 216, listed as follows:

A complete
CATALOGUE
Of All The
BOOKS

Now In, or Belonging To, The
EDWARDSVILLE LIBRARY.

A.		F.	
American State Papers...in 12 vols.		Ferguson's Roman Republic...	3 do.
Adams's Defence	3 do.	Federalist	1 do.
B.		G.	
Burns's Poems	2 do.	Guy Mannering	2 do.
Bigland's England	2 do.	Gibbon's Rome	8 do.
Blair's Lectures	2 do.	Goldsmith's Works	6 do.
Brydon's Tour	1 do.	Grandpre's Voyage	1 do.
Butler's Hudibras	1 do.	Gil Blas	4 do.
Beauties of History.....	1 do.	H.	
Bartram's Travels	1 do.	History of Carraccas.....	3 do.
Belknap's American Biography.	2 do.	History of Chili.....	2 do.
British Spy	1 do.	History of Greece.....	1 do.
C.		Hawksworth's Voyage	3 do.
Coelebs in search of a Wife...	2 do.	History of Charles V.....	3 do.
Cowper's Homer	4 do.	History of England.....	8 do.
Cowper's Poems	2 do.	Humbold's New Spain.....	2 do.
Campaign in Russia.....	1 do.	I.	
Carver's Travels	1 do.	J.	
Camilla, or a Picture of Youth..	3 do.	Jefferson's Notes	1 do.
Clarke's Travels	4 do.	K.	
Christian Researches in Asia..	1 do.	L.	
Clarkson's History	1 do.	Letters of Junius.....	1 do.
Clark's Naval History.....	2 do.	M.	
D.		Marshall's Life of Washington,	
Depon's Voyage	3 do.	with Atlas	5 do.
Domestic Encyclopaedia	5 do.	M'Fingal, a modern epic poem.	1 do.
E.		Mayo's Ancient Geography and	
Ely's Journal	1 do.	History, with Atlas.....	1 do.
Elements of Criticism.....	2 do.	Modern Europe	5 do.

M'Leod on the Revelation....1 do.	T.
M'Kenzie's Voyage2 do.	Tales of my Landlord.....2 do.
Moore's Poems1 do.	Telemachus2 do.
M'Nevin's Switzerland1 do.	Thaddeus of Warsaw.....2 do.
N.	Travels of Anacharsis.....4 do.
O.	Thomson's Seasons.....1 do.
Ossian's Poems.....2 do.	The True Ahiman Rezon.....1 do.
P.	Turnbull's Voyage1 do.
Practical Education2 do.	U.
Plutarch's Lives8 do.	Universal Gazetteer2 do.
Porter's Travels1 do.	V.
Q.	Vicissitudes Abroad6 do.
R.	Volney's America1 do.
Ramsay's Washington1 do.	Virginia Debates1 do.
Rob Roy2 do.	Vicar of Wakefield.....1 do.
Rollin's Ancient History, with	Views of Louisiana.....1 do.
Atlas8 do.	W.
Rumford's Essays3 do.	Wirt's Life of Patrick Henry..1 do.
Robertson's America2 do.	Watts's Logic1 do.
S.	Wealth of Nations.....2 do.
Scottish Chiefs2 do.	Wild Irish Girl.....1 do.
Sterne's Works5 do.	X.
Scott's Works4 do.	Y.
Salmagundi2 do.	Young's Night Thoughts....1 do.
Shakspeare's Plays6 do.	Z.
Spectator10 do.	Zimmerman on National
	Pride1 do.

Drawn for the use of the Share-Holders,

At the Library Room, Edwardsville, Nov. 30, 1819.

JOHN H. RANDLE,
Librarian

H. Warren, Printer, Edwardsville

The date of the catalogue is also the date of a *Spectator* notice: "Books for Sale." Advertised as "the latest and most approved editions," to be applied for at the *Spectator* office, were: three copies of volumes 11 and 12 of *American State Papers*; Russell's *Modern Europe*, five volumes; *Laws of the United States*, five volumes; Blackstone's *Commentaries on the Laws of England*, four volumes. Who was offering the books and why, we do not know. Unable to supply all the books

ordered by the library, the Boston book house may have made unwanted substitutions. All the volumes of *American State Papers* and *Modern Europe* were already on the shelves. Laymen were not interested in legal technicalities and men with professional inclinations no doubt had their own Blackstone and *Laws of the United States*. The consignment of books had traveled a long and roundabout journey and to return twenty volumes to Boston would possibly have strained the library treasury.

On January 8, 1820, announcement was made in the *Spectator* of "A SPECIAL MEETING of the stockholders of the EDWARDSVILLE LIBRARY" to be held a week from that day at two o'clock in the courthouse "for the purpose of amending the constitution; at which time the attendance of the stockholders is respectively [*sic*] requested." The following December the *Spectator* again announced the annual meeting of stockholders, at the courthouse on the first day of January at two o'clock, "when five directors will be elected for the ensuing year." By the next December (1821) the association gave appearance of being more prosperous. The December 4 issue of the *Spectator* announced that the annual meeting would be held at the Library Room on January 1, "precisely at 10 o'clock." Previously the annual, paid notice was published in but one issue of the paper, the week before the meeting. The appearance of the paid notice in all the December issues indicates more funds and subscribers. Also, the association quarters were now sufficiently commodious to accommodate stockholders' session, and certainly more comfortable than the place of previous meeting—the earth-floored log-cabin courthouse warmed by a fire laid in one corner, the smoke finding leisurely escape through a hole in the roof.

These were good years, the birth years of associations for the increase of specific knowledge: oratory, drama, debate, the Bible, agriculture, mechanics. The pioneers had grown gregarious and remembered the years of the wars to rejoice in

an anniversary occasion for dining, toasting, and singing together; to listen deeply moved to a Revolutionary soldier's reading of the Declaration of Independence; to cheer the stirring passages of an elaborate oration. The Madison County seat was teeming with promise of coming to political, social and cultural flower. The lace-ruffled territorial governor Ninian Edwards went about in his carriage driven by a Negro coachman, stirring pioneer sons to dreams and ambition. Edward Coles, who had been private secretary to President Madison and had gone on a mission to Russia, was living at Tom Wilson's tavern and gaining the admiration of those he met as Register of the Land Office, which would make him second governor of Illinois. Here lived United States Senator Jesse B. Thomas, descended from Lord Baltimore, the brilliant gentleman of Congress Daniel Pope Cook, the territorial congressional representative Benjamin Stephenson. On a rural estate lived the inspiring conversationalist Emanuel J. West whom President Jackson would name minister to Mexico. There were lovely, gracious women in the families of these personages, and sons and daughters to be properly educated. At Madame de Jerome's Academy of Science the young ladies were given a course of study that included the French language, geography with the use of globes, drawing, and needlework. Hiram Rountree, with "the best of recommendations as to his moral character," was teaching young gentlemen and boys "the Greek and Latin languages and the higher branches of Mathematics."

In December, 1822, the proprietors of the library institution were again informed by the press of their annual meeting, to be held at the Library Room on New Year's Day. That the stockholders had grown less eager and punctilious is indicated by an added sentence, "Punctual attendance is requested." Apparently the morning meeting of the past January had not been successfully attended, for the hour was returned to two. Perhaps the genuine Pittsburgh whisky James Miller was now sell-

ing by the gallon was affecting New Year's Day activities. This is additionally indicated by the fact that there were no later announcements in the *Spectator's* columns of an annual First of January meeting. In fact no further notice of a library meeting appears until nearly two years later. But it is to be inferred from the following announcement, made March 1, 1825, by Hail Mason, secretary pro tem, that there had been an annual meeting earlier in 1825:

The stockholders of the Edwardsville Library, pursuant to an order made at their last annual meeting, are requested to meet at the dwelling house of J. T. Lusk, Esq. on Monday next at 2 o'clock P.M. for the purpose of transacting business of great importance to the future prosperity of the institution. It is therefore expected there will be a prompt and general attendance. P.S. No forfeiture of shares has taken place yet, but the subject has been deferred till our next meeting.

A few weeks later, April 19, "D. Prickett and Wm. P. McKee, committee," announced in the *Spectator*:

A meeting of the stockholders in the Edwardsville Library is requested at the Library Room in Edwardsville on Saturday the 30th inst. at 4 o'clock P.M. The forfeiture of shares for failure to pay the arrears due, can be saved by making payments on that day; otherwise all shares which were in arrears for one year on the first of January 1824, will be declared forfeited. All arrears which accumulated before the first of January 1823, can be discharged in state paper at 50 per cent. discount.

David Prickett was a counsellor at law. Obviously the library association, now weak enough to be ingratiating, required the direction of a legal mind. It was surely and rapidly declining into nonexistence, for that meeting of April 30, 1825, was apparently the last.

What the conditions were that brought the affairs of this pioneer institution to legal hands we do not know. But we can conjecture. Perhaps new books had not been put upon the shelves and the old volumes had all been read. Or expanding political, economic, social, and religious interests may have taken away the leisure and inclination for large-scale reading. Books were being crowded out by livelier entertainment. The

Edwardsville Singing Society was using music books from Boston. The Madison County Agricultural Society was giving premiums for the best specimen of malt liquor, for the greatest quantity of proof spirit made from a given quantity of grain, and for the largest number of wolf scalps. There were the meetings of the Mechanics Society, and the Forum discussions on such questions as "Was the assassination of Caesar by Brutus commendable?" and "Would the emancipation of South America from the present government of Spain be advantageous to the United States?" The Thespian Society was opening its doors at early candlelight to present comedies and musical farces, with repeat performances. Messrs. Ludlow and King, of the St. Louis Theatrical Corps, were coming for three-night stands with entertainment "in the form of a Dramatic Olio." And Mr. Leggett was delivering Shakespearian recitations at the hotel of Mr. Wiggins. On at least one Sabbath a month circuit riders stirred the pioneers' souls to religious awakening. With Elijah Slater's "Stage Waggon" stopping in Edwardsville from Saturday evening until 6 o'clock Monday morning, the town was an intimate part of the larger world. Lawyers, land speculators, and travelers from far places kept the tavern candles burning late. Distances were diminishing. Men came from the Sangamon country, eighty miles away, for flour. If, amid such activity, one had time to read, one could subscribe, at the *Spectator* office, for *Woodworth's Literary Casket and Ladies' and Gentlemen's Pocket Magazine*, published monthly. And the weekly *Spectator* itself was filled with interesting fare.

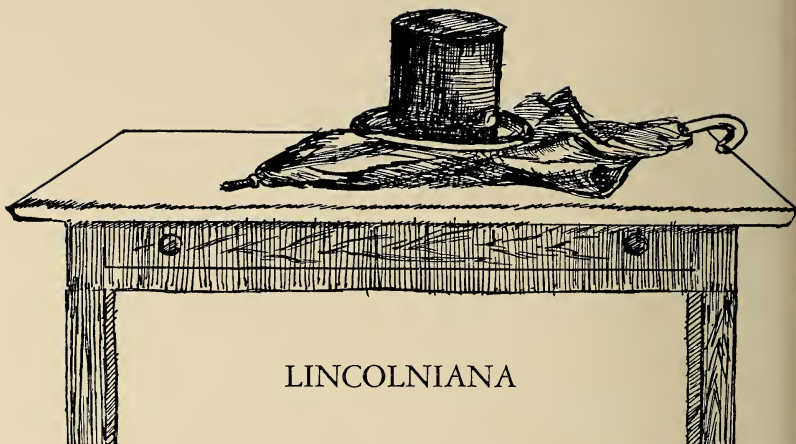
It is very likely, also, that dissension had crept into the library circle as a by-product of the numerous and vigorously fought frictions affecting the town. There was the "old town" versus "new town" controversy over the location of the county buildings. There were the factions for Coles and against slavery, and against Coles and for slavery; and differing opinions made factions within factions. The presses of the

antislavery *Spectator* and the proslavery *Republican* were pouring out such venom that their publishers met for a duel with horsewhip and pistol. There were the factions favoring and opposing the State Bank, an issue brought more violently home because there was a branch of the bank in Edwardsville.

The spirited, uninhibited newspaper communications about these disagreements provided more highly spiced reading than many of the books on the library shelves. Petty quarrels, as well as the major disputes, were, so to speak, cheered on by the press, which, at \$1.00 a square for the first insertion and fifty cents for each subsequent publication, exposed to the public eye whatever a vindictive person chose to write. It is plausible to conjecture that personal and group antipathies spoiled the original, pioneer unity of the library association.

All that remains, in addition to the *Spectator* notices, as evidence of the existence of Edwardsville's pioneer library is the framed catalogue of its 216 volumes which hangs in the Edwardsville Public Library. Preserved by John T. Lusk, at whose dwelling the unhappy meeting of March, 1825, was held, it is the only copy known to have survived the rise and fall of what was probably the first library in Illinois.





LINCOLNIANA

LINCOLN'S OTHER BOSWELL

The dean of all sculptors of Abraham Lincoln was Leonard Volk. His name is on the tongue of every Lincoln student, yet few are familiar with his face and we are therefore glad to reproduce the rare picture on the opposite page. The bust of Lincoln in this picture was produced from a life mask that Volk made at Chicago in the spring of 1860—shortly before Lincoln was nominated for the presidency. During the summer, and after the nomination, Volk came to Springfield to make the mold of Lincoln's hand which shows under the stool in the picture. When he called at Lincoln's Eighth and Jackson streets residence the Presidential candidate agreed to have the casting taken and went to the woodshed to saw off the end of a broom handle which he gripped while the cast was made of his hand.

The story Volk told about the life

mask which was used as the basis for the bust in the picture is more unusual. Volk's Chicago studio was on the fifth floor of the Portland building. There were no elevators in those days, and the sculptor heard Lincoln coming upstairs two or three steps at a time. In his studio Volk prepared the necessary plaster of Paris cast and Lincoln held his face in it for an hour—the time required for the plaster to harden.

Lincoln returned to the studio several times before the job was finished. Of the last sitting Volk revealed the following circumstances:

"I noticed that Mr. Lincoln was in something of a hurry. I had finished the head but desired to represent his breast and brawny shoulders as nature presented them; so he stripped off his coat, waistcoat, shirt, cravat and collar, threw them on a chair, pulled his undershirt down a short distance,



Very Sincerely Yours

Leonard M. Bolck

This picture is from a rare extra-illustrated volume titled *Biographical Sketches of the Leading Men of Chicago*, in the State Historical Library.

tying the sleeves behind him, and stood up without a murmur for an hour or so. I then said that I was done and was a thousand times obliged to him for his promptness and patience, and offered to assist him to re-dress but he said: 'No, I can do it better alone.' I kept at my work without looking toward him, wishing to catch the form as accurately as possible while it was fresh in my memory. Mr. Lincoln left hurriedly, saying he had an engagement, and with a cordial 'Good-bye! I will see you again soon,' passed out. A few moments after, I recognized his steps rapidly returning. The door opened, and in he came, exclaiming: 'Hello, Mr. Volk! I got down on the sidewalk and found I had forgotten to put on my undershirt, and thought it wouldn't do to go through the streets this way.' Sure enough, there were the sleeves of that garment dangling below the skirt of his broad-cloth frock-coat! I went at once to his assistance, and helped him to undress and re-dress him all right and out he went, with a hearty laugh at the absurdity of the thing."

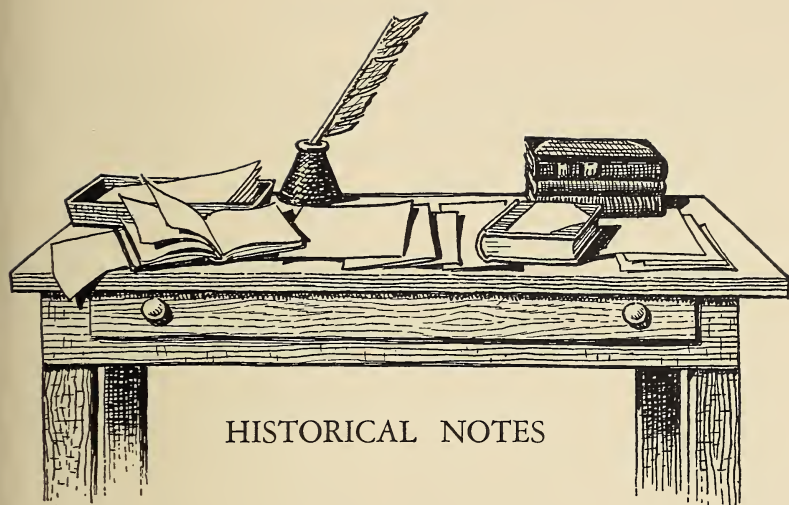
The bust at the extreme right of

the picture is Volk's Stephen A. Douglas—a statue which gave the sculptor renown before Lincoln's rise to importance. Douglas was a cousin of Volk's wife, and as Senator had helped the young sculptor go to Italy to study art. Volk returned in 1855 and his first work was the bust of his patron, which was exhibited in time for the Lincoln-Douglas debates.

Volk also designed the Douglas Monument, a photo of which appears in the upper right hand corner of this picture. Standing above the Illinois Central Railroad tracks at the foot of 35th Street, this statue, erected in 1879, is said to be the oldest sculptured monument in Chicago. It is at the site of Camp Douglas, Civil War prison pen, built on what was then the city's outskirts. At one time Chicagoans feared that the large number of Confederate prisoners might break jail and capture the city. This site was once owned by Douglas and was given by him for the first building of the old University of Chicago. On top of the shaft Douglas looked from his elevated position across the tracks of the railroad which he helped to organize.

JAY MONAGHAN.





HISTORICAL NOTES

GOLD RUSH FEVER HITS MOUNT MORRIS

The following account of Illinois a hundred years ago and of the gold rush was written on December 20, 1916, by Upton Swingley who titled it "A Brief Chronicle of My Life." Mr. Swingley died at his home at 1006 North Church Street, Rockford, on June 13, 1919. It will be found that the details of his story differ slightly at times from other versions. The *Journal* is indebted to Loring C. Halberstadt, director of business and research of the Terre Haute, Indiana, Public Schools and president of the Vigo County (Indiana) Historical Society, for this article:

I was born in Washington County, Maryland, Sept. 18, 1834. My father, Nathaniel Swingley, was born in Washington County, Maryland, in 1807, and my mother in 1809 in the same county. She was the daughter of John Sharer.

My father, with his family of five boys and two girls, moved to Ogle County, Illinois, in 1838. He located between Oregon and Mt. Morris, about one mile out from where the present town of Mt. Morris is located. There were no towns in this part of

the country at that time, and we had but few neighbors.

In 1839 the cornerstone for the Rock River Seminary was laid. This institution was located out in the open country, and around it was afterwards built up the town of Mt. Morris. My father donated twenty acres of land to the Methodist Church for the site of the seminary.

When five years of age, I started attending a school about a mile west of the present site of Mt. Morris, which was composed of the children

of four families. The teacher, A. Q. Allen, lived at my father's house, and took us children to school and back in a wagon with board wheels.

After attending school here for about three years, I was sent to a school located at Phelps' Grove, about two miles east of our home, which I attended until I was about eleven years of age. In this school, we had no desks. Our seats consisted of slabs, which were first cut off of a log, with stakes set in for legs. In the winter we were allowed to take these seats out, turn them upside down, and coast on a hill near by, until we broke several of the seats, when the teacher put a stop to it. When we could no longer use these seats, we brought sleds from home. At the foot of this hill was a large open spring. One day a Negro girl wanted my sled to coast down the hill. I wouldn't let her have it, but as she insisted on riding, I let her get on the sled in front of me, and down the hill we went. I steered the sled into the spring, and then slipped off. She got a good wetting, and I got a good thrashing for it.

In 1845 my father moved with his family to Brawdie's Grove, two miles north of where Creston is now located. Our nearest neighbors then lived seven miles to the north of us. A family by the name of Flagg lived at Hickory Grove, where Rochelle was afterwards built. To the south of us, the nearest neighbor was at Paw Paw, twenty miles away; to the east, Huntley's Grove, twelve miles, where De Kalb is now located.

At that time this part of the country was infested by a band of robbers

and horse thieves, known as the Driscoll gang. They became so desperate that a Vigilance Committee was organized to rid the country of them, and Mr. [John] Campbell, who lived at Campbell's Grove, now known as Lindenwood, was chosen captain of the Committee. The Driscolls lived at Driscoll's Grove, later called South Grove. There were several boys in the family. One Sunday evening two of these boys went to Campbell's house, called him out, and shot him dead in the presence of his wife. This so aroused the country, that the Vigilance Committee went to the home of the Driscolls and arrested the father and one son, William, neither of whom had taken a direct part in the shooting. They were taken to Oregon, which then was composed of a couple of houses, but was called the county seat. They were tried, convicted, and executed in one day, the execution taking place in a grove east of Daysville. They stood blindfolded on a mound and were shot by twelve men belonging to the Committee. This determined action cleared the country of the robbers. Brawdie's Grove was a very dense one, making a good place to secrete horses. At one time a hollow tree was found filled with twenty-three saddles. My father bought the claim of old man Brawdie, who was a brother-in-law of Driscoll, and who left with the Driscolls. He paid him \$500 for his claim, which consisted of 200 acres of grove, and then moved his family into the old Brawdie shanty until he could build a better home.

We had to go to Driscoll's Grove for our mail, which was carried by

stage running from Chicago to Galena. This was my job, riding across the prairie on a pony, but in the winter time I went for it but once a month.

I assisted my father in farming his land, which was hard and unprofitable work, as we had no improved machinery and used oxen. The land was not even fenced, and at night the oxen were turned out to graze. In the morning, it was my duty before breakfast to get the oxen, which sometimes would have wandered off two or three miles during the night.

Our nearest market was Chicago, seventy miles away, which was then a town of about 5,000, built on the waterfront of Lake Michigan. No effort had yet been made toward modern improvements, the streets being unpaved and often very muddy, and the sidewalks only of boards. We drew our grain to Chicago with oxen, which meant a trip of about ten days. We carried our provisions with us, and never ate or slept in a house during the entire trip. We would haul a load of wheat to Chicago and get fifty cents a bushel for it, bringing back such provisions as we could not raise ourselves. I was about twelve years of age when I made my first journey to Chicago. There was just one house between what is now Oak Park and Chicago, and this was a hotel, which was run by a man who owned it and forty acres of land. A man named Trask stopped at this hotel one night. In the morning the proprietor wanted to trade Trask his house and land for his guest's four horses and wagon. Trask laughed at him, saying he wouldn't take his land as a gift.

The Pottawatomie Indians were located in Northern Illinois, and used to spend their summers in the grove near our home. The chief's name was Shabbona, and the town of Shabbona on the C. B. & Q. Railroad was later named after this chief.

In the spring of 1850 my father, getting the gold fever in his veins, organized a company of twelve men, most of whom came from the vicinity of Mt. Morris, to take the trip overland to California. I was fifteen years old at that time, and was included in the number to cross the plains. Our outfit was in common, and included eight yoke of oxen and two wagons; four horses and one wagon; two mules and one wagon; two horses and one buggy, and a pony for me to ride. Uncle Josh Thomas went to St. Louis and bought our supplies, which consisted principally of bacon, crackers, and hardtack. This he shipped up the Missouri River, meeting the rest of us at the present site of Council Bluffs. We started from home the 8th day of March, going to the Missouri River, where Council Bluffs is now located, where we remained for three weeks waiting for the grass to grow. The Pawnee Indians were camped on the east side of the river and the Omaha Indians on the west. There was not a white settlement west of the Missouri River. There were 10,000 emigrants camped there at that time, waiting for the grass, so that they could start out on the plains westward. We formed a company of 120 men with 40 wagons, of which my father was chosen captain. We crossed the river on the 6th day of May, swimming our stock and taking the wagons by ferry.

I shall never forget the first night we camped among the Omaha Indians. We formed a corral by placing our wagons in a circle the length of a long chain apart, and putting the stock in this enclosure, guarding them with two men the fore part of the night and two in the after part. It fell to my lot to be chosen to go on duty the after part of the night, which was a very serious matter for me; but I marched back and forth, thinking every minute that Indians would attack us. In the morning, the boys wanted to know what I would have done, if the Indians had put in an appearance, and I said I would have shot them. They said, "Yes, you would, your gun wasn't loaded." That morning a crowd of Indians came to our camp, begging for something to eat. One of our boys had a dog that he traded to the Indians for a pair of moccasins. The Indians knocked the dog in the head, threw him on the campfire and roasted him, head and all, and then carried him off to their camp. We saw much of Indian habits and ways of living as we traveled through twelve different tribes. We journeyed up the Platte River for 500 miles through a country where there were buffaloes in droves by the thousands. We lived on buffalo meat.

The Sioux Indians were on the Platte River; one of the largest and most warlike tribes, having about 2,000 warriors. They were very sociable and tried to talk the English language, but all they could say was what they had heard the men say to their oxen, and this was mostly cussing. They would come up to you,

extend their hand to salute you, and say, "Whoa Haw, Damn you," which was about all the English language they knew.

We made slow progress crossing the Rocky Mountains, averaging about ten miles a day. We went north of Salt Lake City on what was known as Sublette's Cut Off and down the Humboldt River 400 miles to where it terminated in a lake seven miles wide and twenty miles long, that had no outlet, but sank into the sand of the desert. From this lake we crossed the desert ninety miles to Carson River, and on this desert we lost the most of our stock. We had seven head of cattle and two mules when we reached Carson River, and our provisions had completely given out. We killed one of our oxen, stripped the meat from the bones, and jerked it by drying and smoking over a slow fire. This was all we had to eat fifteen days while crossing the Sierra Nevada Mountains, and we had to walk most of the way.

We arrived in Hangtown in Placer County, which is now Placerville about 150 miles northeast of Sacramento, on August 26, 1850, which would make about six months on the road. This was a mining camp where there was flour and salt pork for sale. Our first meal for twelve men cost \$58.00. Flour was sold at \$1.50 a pound and pork \$1.25.

We worked in the mines until 1852. Father and I then joined a company to go on horseback across the mountains and desert to the Sink of the Humboldt, which was about 800 miles, to buy emigrants' stock and recruit them. We were gone

about three months, returning with about 300 head of cattle, horses, and mules. We sold our interest in this stock and started for home on November 10, 1853.

We returned by way of the Ocean, paying \$400 apiece for tickets to New York. We left the boat at Panama, and walked across the Isthmus. We were fourteen days from San Francisco to Panama, and I was very sick for thirteen days. When we anchored at Panama, we were out about four miles and were taken from the vessel by the natives in little boats to the shore. We had to swim the Chagres River, which we did with our clothes on. I had in my pocket while swimming the river, the watch which I still carry, and it did not stop running. We took a boat again at Aspinwall on the Atlantic side for New York. The trip took eight days, and my father was taken sick on the way with Panama fever. At that time they were building the Panama Railroad, and we had a number of railroad builders aboard the boat, five of whom died with this fever, and were buried at sea. There was a railroad from New York to Rochester, which was very fortunate for us, as I had a very sick father on my hands. At Rochester we took the boat that went to Detroit. From Detroit we took the railroad to Chicago, going from there to Rockford over the Chicago and North Western Railroad, which was built to Rockford in 1853. This was the first railroad built west of Chicago. The rails were made out of oak scantling with trap iron nailed on top, and it took nine hours to go from Chicago to Rockford.

We stayed all night in Rockford at the City Hotel, which was located where the Forest City Bank now stands. As father was still very sick, we had to hire a wagon, in which he could lie down, to get him to his home. He was sick for about four months of this fever.

As my schooling had been somewhat neglected, in the fall of 1854 I thought I would take a course in higher education, so I went to Beloit College. I experienced my first feeling of homesickness here, as I found myself surrounded by too much civilization. The President of the college at that time was a man by the name of [Aaron L.] Chapin. We met every morning at 6:30 in the college chapel for prayers. As this was not very interesting to me, I decided to enliven the meeting, so, with the assistance of the janitor, a colored man, we put an old hen into the professor's desk in the chapel. In the morning, when he opened his desk to get the Bible, the hen flew out and furnished one interesting meeting.

The winters of '56 and '57 I spent in Rockford, attending Burnham's Commercial School, which was over the Chick House. During that winter a man named Countryman was tried for murdering Sheriff Taylor, and convicted. Our school was dismissed for a week to attend the trial and also the execution, which took place about three miles west of Rockford. I graduated from this school with high honors, receiving diplomas for double entry bookkeeping, engineering, and steamboating. I made use of my engineering and steamboat education by working on the farm with my father.

In 1858 I was married to Frances Potter, and commenced farming on part of father's farm which I bought. I worked this farm until the year 1875. My daughters, Carrie, Minnie, Grace, and Lida were born while living there. Their mother died in 1870.

In 1871 I was married to Sophia Woodward Byers, who was the mother of Upton L. Swingley. We went on a wedding trip to California over the Union Pacific Railroad, which had been recently completed. This road followed the old trail that we took when making our trip across the plains. We were in Salt Lake City at the time of the Chicago fire, and while there heard Brigham Young preach. The Mormons were

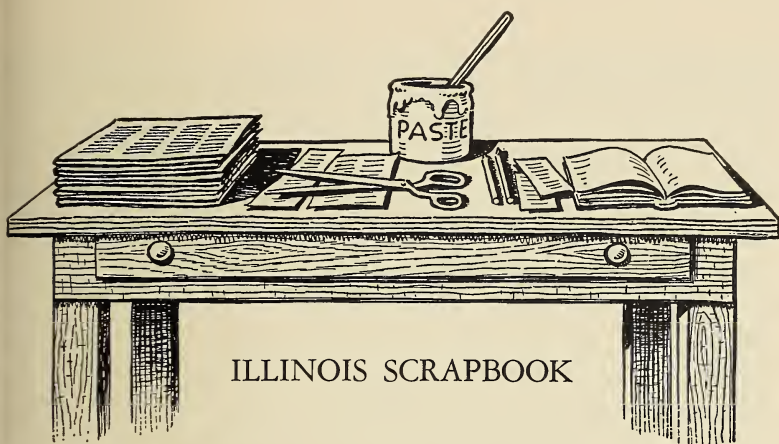
holding a semi-annual council meeting at that time, and the Mormons from all over the valley were attending that meeting. The construction of the Mormon Temple was just being started. Upton's mother died in 1873, shortly after we moved to Creston.

In 1875 I was married to Henrietta Thomas Brown. We lived in the Storms house, while we were building our new home, and Howard was born in the Storms house. We moved into the new house in 1876, where Gertrude was born.

In 1892 we moved to Rockford into our present home on North Church Street.

UPTON SWINGLEY,
DECEMBER 20, 1916





ILLINOIS SCRAPBOOK

"THE DESERT SHALL REJOICE . . ."

This beautiful farm ["Larch Farm"] is located on the line of the Illinois Central railroad, about a mile north of Onarga, and is the property of Allan Pinkerton, the renowned detective.

Mr. Pinkerton is a native of Scotland. He was born in 1819, in Gorbaes, Glasgow, and in 1842 when twenty-three years of age, he came to the United States, locating in the state of Illinois. . . . In 1873 Mr. Pinkerton determined upon the carrying out of an idea which had long occupied his mind, and to cultivate a prairie farm which would be the acme of western rural development. . . . And after seven years of labor and a lavish expenditure of money, "Larch Farm" has become the "model" farm of Iroquois county. The dwelling-house which has been erected is a large, commodious, one-story square structure, surmounted by a cupola, with an addition attached to the north side. In appearance the house resembles very much the residences which graced the plantations of the south before the rebellion spread its desolating effects over that region of our country. The interior is supplied with every modern improvement for comfort, while the furniture and adornments combine all the ideas which wealth, refinement and luxury can suggest.

The progress in the cultivation of the land is indeed a marvel of agricultural ability, and evinces in a marked degree the results which may be accomplished by good taste, untiring energy and a liberal, but wisely directed, expenditure of money. Through the operation of these influences the prairie desert has been made to blossom as a rose.

The entire farm, which is nearly rectangular in shape, is inclosed with a luxuriant close-trimmed hedge of osage orange trees, while inside of this



WEST LANE LEADING TO THE PINKERTON HOUSE

These European larch trees were a part of Detective Allan Pinkerton's original landscaping of his farm and were planted more than sixty years before this picture was taken. A photograph of the exterior of the house and the story of the building itself are in John Drury's book, *Old Illinois Houses*, pages 191-93. Pictures of the Civil War murals which decorate the interior were published in the December, 1948, issue of this *Journal*, for the article "Lincoln and Pinkerton" by Lloyd Lewis.

hedge there have been planted seven rows of larch trees (from which the farm takes its name), set at the distance of four feet apart. The railroad intersects the land from north to south, and on each side of this the same arrangement of osage orange and larch trees has been observed. Two broad driving avenues have been laid out across the farm from north to south and from east to west, and along these drives are planted innumerable evergreen trees, set in a double row upon each side, while immediately behind these are ranged the seven rows of larch trees, set at the distance above mentioned. The edges of these avenues are ornamented with a bordering of bright blooming flowers from end to end, the effect of which is beautiful to behold.

Some idea of the magnitude of this labor, all of which has been done under Mr. Pinkerton's direction, may be obtained from the fact that over 1,000 evergreens and 85,000 larch trees have been planted by the energetic owner of "Larch Farm." Along the main roads and those leading to the house there have also been planted rows of maple trees, whose bright green foliage considerably enhances the beauty of the place. The lawn immediately surrounding the house, which consists of more than four acres, has been most beautifully and tastefully arranged. Serpentine walks of graceful curvings, with their firm beds of coal cinders, which have been brought from a great distance, and their brilliant borderings of blooming flowers, numerous flower-beds of most varied and beautiful shapes, and a liberal distribution of marble and terra-cotta vases of unique design, filled with brilliant-hued flowers and rare plants, all contribute to the production of a scene of beauty which is the theme of universal admiration and a source of pleasure and delight to their liberal-minded owner. The beauty of the lawn is further enhanced by an artificial lake, 100 feet long, immediately in rear of the house, which glistens in the morning sun, or in which, during the long evenings, the rays of the moon are brightly reflected. A dainty white boat which sails upon its surface affords amusement to the numberless visitors to the farm.

The outbuildings evince the same regard for beauty and durability. The greenhouse, which already contains over 2,000 plants of unlimited variety, and which is to be immediately supplemented by another of the same capacity, is a source of wonderment and pleasure to the visitors from the surrounding neighborhood, to whose inspection, as well as the entire grounds, they have been opened by the courtesy of Mr. Pinkerton. The barns, stable, corn-crib (probably the largest in the county) and ice-house are in perfect accord with their surroundings, and are remarkable for their neatness, strength and durability. There is also to be erected a fruit-house of large dimensions during the summer.

An artesian well has been sunk upon the premises to the depth of one

hundred and thirty feet, which is surmounted by a wind-mill thirty-seven feet high, of the most recent invention, and which furnishes the house with a supply of water amply sufficient for drinking, washing and culinary purposes, and for the bath-rooms contained within the dwelling. Mr. Pinkerton has also set out about 2,000 apple trees, all of which give evidence of thrift and of abundant yields in the very near future, and in addition to these orchards there are a great number of pear, quince and cherry trees, all giving sure indications of fruitfulness.

The fruit and vegetable gardens contain almost every known variety, and receive the careful attention of an experienced gardener. The fields have been confined to the production of corn and oats, and have thus far yielded abundant harvests.

Disconnected from the farm proper, but in close proximity thereto, is another tract of land belonging to Mr. Pinkerton, which contains a strawberry bed of large dimensions, and fruit trees in great number and variety. In order to accomplish this gigantic labor Mr. Pinkerton employs the services of ten men during the entire year, while in the spring this force is augmented to double that number, and the result of this labor is manifest in the growing beauty of the place and the luxuriant harvests which are annually gathered.

Altogether, "Larch Farm" is one of the great features of Iroquois county, and its owner one of the most energetic, tasteful and liberal gentlemen of the community.

H. W. BECKWITH, *History of Iroquois County* (Chicago, 1880), Pt. I:434-37.

ADVICE TO EMIGRANTS

I had heard much of the *backwoodsmen*, and supposed, of course, I should find many of them in Illinois; but after diligent search, I found none that merited the appellation. The race has become extinct. Who are the inhabitants of Illinois? A great portion of them, from the north, recently settled there, and of course, possessing the same hospitality, sobriety and education as the northern people. They went out from us; but they are still of us. A person will find as good society there, as here; only not so much of it. The upper house on Fox river settlement, was occupied by an intelligent and refined family, recently from Massachusetts.

Meeting houses and school houses are rare, owing to the sparceness of the inhabitants; but the country is settling rapidly, and these deficiencies will soon be supplied. Indeed, so rapidly is the country settling, that in writing

this account of it, I sometimes feel like the man who hurried home with his wife's bonnet, lest it should be out of date, before I could get it finished.

Emigrants, going to settle at the West, with their families, would do well to take their beds, bedding, a moderate supply of culinary utensils, the most essential of their farming tools, and a good supply of clothing. These articles are all high there, and somewhat difficult to be obtained. The more cumbersome of household furniture, such as chairs, tables, bedsteads, &c. are not so essential; because their place can be supplied by the ruder articles of domestic manufacture. In the new settlements, most of the families had chairs or benches, tables and bedsteads, made on the spot by the husbandmen.

Provisions are cheap, but vary in price according to the demand. Corn, at Beardstown, is worth twelve and a half cents a bushel; at Hennipen [*sic*], twenty-five cents; and on the Fox river fifty cents; and other articles in proportion.

When the settler arrives at his location, his first business is to build a log house, which is soon done; then fence in a field, and it is ready for the plough. The prairie breaks up hard at first, requiring four yoke of oxen; but after the first breaking a single horse can plough it. A good crop is produced the first year; but better in succeeding years. He had better hoe his Indian corn. It keeps the ground clear of weeds, and increases the crop, but half of the cornfields are not hoed at all.

In the fall of the year, he must take especial care that his crops, stacks of hay, fences, &c. are not burnt, in the general conflagration of the prairies. To prevent this, as good a method as any is to plough two or three furrows around his improvements, and at a distance of about two rods plough as many more; and in a mild day, when the grass is dry, burn over the space between. If he neglects this, he must keep a good look out in a dry and windy day. If he sees a smoke to windward, it will not do to wait until he can see the fire; but must summon all hands, and set a back fire. With a strong breeze, fire will sometimes run over the dry prairies faster than a horse. The inhabitants are often too negligent in this particular. While I was there a number of stacks of hay and grain, and two or three houses were burnt, from the mere negligence of their owners.

A. A. PARKER, *Trip to the
West and Texas* (1835), 72-74.

SALTILLO

One finds it difficult to realize, after a short residence here, that he is really in an enemy's city, surrounded by foes. Every thing glides along so smoothly, calmly, and peacefully, we feel as secure in walking the streets at

night as we should in any American city. Much—indeed all of this is doubtless owing to the admirable management of Governor Warren, and the commendable conduct of the troops stationed here. We speak of Col. Warren¹ with pride as an Illinoian, a man to do honor to his state. By his skill, tact, or whatever it may be called, he has managed to establish perfect confidence between the Americans and Mexicans, and no two races with so wide a distinction between them, ever lived together on more friendly terms. Then no city in the world can be more admirably policed. Drunkenness, rowdyism, the public gambling house, even the loathsome fandango—every thing of the sort is completely banished. The troops stationed here are Capt. Webster's² artillery company in the fort, Capt. Prentiss'³ artillery at the Convent, and the odd battalion composed of Capt. Morgan's⁴ and Capt. Prentiss' companies of the 1st Illinois regiment, in barracks near the plaza.

For their good conduct all these companies are deserving of high praise; but we will be excused, as Illinoians, for speaking more particularly of the volunteer companies on whom the policing of the city most heavily rests. No two companies in the service, volunteers or regulars, have attained a higher perfection of drill and discipline. To see them drill on the square—going through every conceivable manoeuvre with the utmost rapidity and precision—is sufficient not only to "astonish the natives," but to astonish and elicit the admiration of veteran officers in the army. Cpts. M. & P. may well be proud of their companies, as the companies are so justly of their commanders.

The Picket Guard, April 19, 1847. (This very rare camp newspaper was published at Saltillo, Mexico, by two Illinois soldiers, William and Moses Osman, of Ottawa. Copies of six of its seven issues are in the Illinois State Historical Library. Pictures of United States troops at Saltillo, believed to be the first war photographs ever made, were reproduced in the December, 1948, *Journal*.)

"COUNTRY CORRESPONDENCE"

DECATUR, ILL., JUNE 17, 1853

Editor Courier—Dear Sir:—I see by a short editorial in your valuable daily of the 10th inst., that you are desirous of receiving occasionally, a communication from "country correspondents," and, if this should prove worthy of an insertion in your columns, you will favor me by so doing.

¹ William B. Warren, Alton, Ill.

² Lucien Bonaparte Webster, of Vermont.

³ Benjamin M. Prentiss, Alton, Ill.

⁴ James D. Morgan, Alton, Ill.

Decatur, where this communication hails from, is a beautiful village, located on an elevated prairie near the margin of the "Sangamon timber." It contains a population of over 1200 and continues improving with that rapidity railroads are calculated to produce. Our town at present is very healthy—no sickness—the doctors having nothing to do but to catch fish and sit on store boxes whittling pine sticks. They say it is "distressingly healthy."

The work on the great Illinois Central Railroad is progressing rapidly; a very large force of hands are daily employed. It is expected that this road will be completed to this place by the 1st of January next. The "Northern Cross Road," is now in the hands of an energetic company, and every thing indicates that this road will be completed from Springfield to this place by the first of March 1854. When a connection is made with your road, you may look out for a heavy trade from this section of the country. Alton appears to be *the* point, and is talked off [*sic*] by scores of our inhabitants. I cannot see why your citizens will not be able to compete with the mighty city of St. Louis. You certainly have the facilities. The Railroad from Indianapolis to Decatur *will* be built, and that too in less than two years. This road when completed, will be one of the best paying roads in the West. It will also have a tendency to build up your flourishing city, as it will connect with the "Alton and Sangamon road."

Our village is frequently thrown into confusion by reports that the Irish are determined to burn it down. A volunteer company has been formed of a number of our best citizens, to prevent disturbances. The Irish laborers have driven almost all the Dutch from our midst. They will not permit them to work on either of our roads.

Three contractors, Rose, Rice & Co., absconded [*sic*] from this place on Sunday night last, indebted to our citizens and laborers upwards of two thousand dollars. This was a premeditated act, for the day before they departed they borrowed all the money they could and purchased on "tick" any amount of goods. They were looked upon as honorable men before this transaction, and could have got on credit an unlimited sum. They were engaged on the "Northern Cross Road." Also, about the same time, another scoundrel, Beard, assuming the name of a contractor on the "Central," left for parts unknown, deeply indebted to our citizens. Such figures as the above rascals have cut will be a good lesson for the "rest of mankind" to be cautious who they deal with in the future.

I have seen quite a number of farmers of this county, and a few from Piatt, Moultrie, Logan, DeWitt and Christian, and I am happy to inform you that they report the wheat and corn crops favorable. Wheat in particular

looks very flattering, and it is my opinion the yield this harvest will be unusually large. The apple, peach, cherry, &c., are nearly breaking down with fruit. The rose bugs are destroying nearly all the grapes in this section of country.

Your country friend, J. S.

The Alton Weekly Courier, June 24, 1853.

"NOTES FROM THE WEST"

BELVIDERE, ILL., AUG. 1846.

After several detentions waiting for steamboats, and grounding upon sand-bars, I again found myself on board a steam boat, and "under way." But I have been too long on the river. For several weeks the weather had been exceedingly warm, the thermometer ranging from 90, to 98 deg., the water was unusually low, exposing immense masses of putrifying matter to the action of the sun, and imparting activity to every cause of disease. On the morning of the 10th, I awoke with a burning fever, but through divine favor, we were near Hannibal in Mo., a place at which I had intended to stop. Here I landed, I was welcomed to the habitation of Mr. F. Levering, who with his amiable lady, bestowed upon me all the attention which I could have received in my own family. By prompt and vigorous medical treatment and the unremitting care of brother and sister Levering and other friends, the fever was speedily broken up and I was relieved from great suffering. Being as they say here, "*powerful weak*," I was obliged to remain several days in this dear family, and parted from them at last, with a sense of obligation and feelings of affection which will endear them to me through the remainder of my life. . . .

At Quincy, Ill., Rev. S. Parr, formerly of the state of New York, is laboring. This is one of the most pleasant and thriving villages on the Mississippi. A few years ago the church in that place, few and feeble, sought and obtained the aid of the Home Mission Society. By that aid they have been effectually strengthened. They have a good house of worship near the centre of the city, which with a little *brushing up*, would be quite creditable to the church; they are out of debt, and liberal contributors in the cause of benevolence.

Jacksonville is another flourishing village, in the interior. Rev. A. Bailey, is pastor of the church in that place, and editor of a very valuable religious paper—the *Western Star*. Its influence in religious and social interests, is decidedly beneficial. Here also, with Home Mission aid, and the blessing of God, the church is gaining strength. They have recently completed a very good house of worship. I regretted extremely to find brother Bailey in the hands of a physician, being very sick of a fever. . . .

I was obliged to pass on to Springfield, the capital of the State, where I remained two or three days recruiting my strength. This is a lovely place and offers a fine field of labor for some well quallified [*sic*] minister. Such an one—one who is capable of ministering to such a class of mind as is usually found congregated in such a place, would find the nucleus of a church already formed, and ready for enlargement. They own a beautiful lot in the very heart of the village, and a temporary place of worship on its rear. Whenever the man appears among them who can collect around him a congregation, they will commence the erection of a house of worship of creditable dimensions and appearance.

On the road between Quincy and Peoria, I met with a slight adventure, somewhat exciting at the time, and not a little calculated by its reaction on my system, to prolong the weakness and enervated condition in which the fever had left me. I was obliged to take a stage at midnight, and was the only passenger on board. After proceeding two or three miles from the little village, we descended into a dark, dreary "bottom," where the trees overshadowed the road and obscured [*sic*] almost every ray of star-light. Here the driver told me he must stop, as the road was bad, and just beyond was a difficult hill. Under such circumstances, I readily assented and he, winding the lines of his four horses around his wrist, lay down upon the front seat to sleep. For nearly half an hour I was quite contented, but as the cold damp of the "bottom" began to affect me, I thought of the fever and ague, and rather than endure a *shake* myself, I began to shake the driver and try to make him resume his place. But it was all in vain, I found that he was stupidly intoxicated. Nothing remained for me now, but to sit quietly and risk a chill, or take the lines and turn driver myself. Having never driven a team of four horses in my life, and being in a dark miserable place on a road of which I was unacquainted with every inch, and having hardly strength enough to sit up straight, this was no easy undertaking; but seizing the lines, and assisting the driver to remove, I took his place, and drove on.

The moon soon rose above the tree-tops, and I succeeded in finding my way through bottoms and prairies and over the hills, *right side up*, till my companion inside awoke and relieved me of my charge. I expected when I commenced my tour, to obtain a great deal of information in this interesting country, but I never dreamed of learning the art of stage-driving. I confess however, that it is an useful art, and quite an acquisition to any tourist, especially if it happens to be his lot to fall into the hands of a professional "Jehu" who often worship at the shrine of Bacchus. I advise every one who intends to travel, first to learn to drive a stage.

Yours respectfully, H. M. S.
New-York Recorder, Sept. 23, 1846.



BOOK REVIEWS

Westward Expansion: A History of the American Frontier. By Ray Allen Billington. (The Macmillan Company: New York, 1949. Pp. 873. \$6.00.)

A good case could be made for the proposition that no single piece of historical writing has had such an influence on American historical investigation as the late Frederick Jackson Turner's *The Significance of the American Frontier*, first read before the American Historical Association in 1893. The essence of the Turnerian thesis is that "the frontier with its continuous influence is the most American thing in all America."

But while he studied and taught this theme, Turner himself wrote relatively little about it. Certainly he did not produce the substantial work in American history which might have been expected from one who lived nearly forty years after he first announced his basic idea at the age of thirty-two at the Columbian Exposition in Chicago.

Professor Billington of Northwestern University, already distinguished for his case history in a period of American prejudice, *The Protestant Crusade*, now issues a well-nigh exhaustive volume on the frontier as Turner saw it and later research has interpreted it. In fact, he says that he attempts "to follow the pattern that Turner might have used had he ever compressed his voluminous researches on the American frontier into one volume."

Not only does Professor Billington present the Turner idea that American expansion has been "a series of conquests in which physiographic province after physiographic province was overrun by westward-moving pioneers"—the Northwestern historian follows specific suggestions which Turner left. Thus the plan of the book is roughly the plan of Turner's

lectures at Harvard, where he taught after leaving his own University of Wisconsin where he rose to stature and distinction.

Illinois cuts a wide swath in this history of the movement westward. First references to Illinois naturally concern the early French explorers and agents, Henry de Tonty and others, including the missionaries who as early as 1699 selected a site for their chapel at the Indian village of Cahokia. Thereafter Illinois comes in many times—its occupation by the British, site of land speculation, capture by George Rogers Clark, its role in the Revolution.

As population pours through the eastern mountains and the Mississippi Valley actually begins to settle, the Illinois country gives way to the Illinois Territory and the territory soon yields to the state. Then Professor Billington tells of canal building, banking, railroads, the Mormons, the Lincoln-Douglas debates, and other developments and events which are part of the Illinois story.

Illinois' role in agriculture comes to the fore in the period of the agrarian revolt when prairie farmers turn to the Patrons of Husbandry as a medium through which to express their discontent. In this connection the author tells how Illinois farmers, leading the fight, take control of their legislature to pass, in 1873, laws creating a commission with authority to set maximum rates on both freight and passenger traffic. Out of this revolt came the famous Granger cases, including *Munn vs. Illinois* in which the Supreme Court in 1876 held that grain elevators, railroads, gristmills, ferries, and other essential industries were "clothed with a public interest which justified state regulation without violation of the Fourteenth Amendment."

While virtually the whole of Professor Billington's encyclopedic work lies before 1900, he does show how certain of the implications of the frontier thesis come down to the New Freedom of Wilson and the New Deal of Franklin D. Roosevelt. These progressive Presidents, says the author, "attempted to secure for individuals through positive governmental action the social welfare and economic opportunity that was once provided by free land."

Some measure of the research which went into this book can be told from the fact that the "bibliographical note" runs to seventy-five pages. This lists several thousand books, pamphlets, articles, and monographs on the many phases of the frontier and western history. It would have been an achievement merely to appraise this array of historical material, to say nothing of digesting it into a book which is good reading as well.

Collinsville.

IRVING DILLIARD.

Lincoln's Vandalia, A Pioneer Portrait. By William E. Baringer. (Rutgers University Press: New Brunswick, N. J., 1949. Pp. 141. \$2.50.)

Vandalia, the second capital of Illinois, provided Abraham Lincoln with his early understanding of constitutional government, whetted his appetite for public office, and encouraged him to adopt the profession of law as a means of furthering his ambition. The story is well told and documented by Dr. William E. Baringer in *Lincoln's Vandalia, A Pioneer Portrait*, recently published under the sponsorship of the Abraham Lincoln Association of Springfield.

William H. Herndon, Nicolay and Hay, and most other biographers of the Civil War President gave scant treatment to Lincoln's career as a member of the lower house of the Illinois General Assembly in which he took his seat in December, 1834, at the age of twenty-five. But Dr. Baringer, the former executive secretary of the Abraham Lincoln Association, made a searching and thorough study of the official records of the legislature and supplemented this material with information found in private papers and in published works and contemporary newspapers.

As Dr. Baringer reminds the reader, Abraham Lincoln, of New Salem, was an obscure young man a short time removed from a job as flatboat laborer when he became a lawmaker representing Sangamon County. However, he had the good fortune to be the protégé of the talented John Todd Stuart, a college-trained lawyer and the leader of the Whig minority in the House of Representatives.

Notwithstanding his handicaps, Lincoln boldly participated in the introduction of bills and even proposed a revision of the House rules when his service at Vandalia was only ten days old. He made mistakes from which he gained useful experience. He acquired skill as a parliamentary tactician and applied this talent to advance the interests of Sangamon County at every opportunity. The *Sangamo Journal* at Springfield, published by Lincoln's friend, Simeon Francis, was informed on legislative subjects from time to time by an unidentified correspondent in Vandalia. A number of these contributions were written in Lincoln's style.

Lincoln's popularity was shown at the 1836 election when he was returned to the legislature. He ranked high among seventeen candidates for the House. Whigs swept Sangamon County and were represented in the General Assembly by two senators and seven representatives, the largest delegation in that body. Lincoln was more than six feet, three inches tall, and the other members were above average height. The Sangamon delegation became known as the "Long Nine," and by united action and studied logrolling on the internal improvement act gained the removal of the same capital to Springfield.

The New Salem Representative, with increased confidence in his ability, willingly met veterans of the opposition party in debate. He was the most active of the "Long Nine" in rounding up votes for the capital relocation bill. He was among six House members who opposed the adoption of an anti-abolition resolution which was passed with an overwhelming majority, and although he planned a mild protest against the institution of slavery, he shrewdly waited until the internal improvement and the capital relocation bills were in the bag. On the last day of the session, Lincoln and Dan Stone, another Sangamon Whig, spread on the House journal a protest to the position taken by the legislature on abolitionism. In this statement Lincoln and Stone declared their belief that slavery was "founded on both injustice and bad policy" but modified the declaration by condemning the activities of some abolitionists.

When the Eleventh General Assembly—the last to meet at Vandalia—was convened in December, 1838, Abraham Lincoln had grown to such political stature that he was the Whig choice for Speaker of the House. He lost to the Democratic candidate, William L. D. Ewing, by a narrow margin.

Dr. Baringer gives generous credit to Dr. Harry E. Pratt, his predecessor as executive secretary of the Abraham Lincoln Association, who did much of the original research necessary to produce *Lincoln's Vandalia*.

Peoria.

ERNEST E. EAST.

The University of Wisconsin: A History, 1848-1925 (Volume Two). By Merle Curti and Vernon Carstensen. (University of Wisconsin Press: Madison, 1949. Pp. x, 668. \$6.00. The second of two volumes. Both volumes, \$10.)

This reviewer finds himself fully satisfied with the quality of this second volume of the history of the University of Wisconsin, which has maintained the high standard of the first, reviewed in the June, 1949, issue of this *Journal* (pp. 229-230). The authors have devoted the entire second volume to the administrations of presidents Charles R. Van Hise (1903-1918) and Edward A. Birge (1918-1925). Thus they have avoided the dangers of dealing with men and events more nearly contemporary.

Under Van Hise the University gave fullest expression to the "Wisconsin Idea" of public service. This is illustrated by the fact that by 1908 forty-one members of the faculty were serving the state of Wisconsin on one or more boards or commissions (p. 88). From 1905 to 1940 over 150 members served the state as well as the university (p. 551).

The university idea of academic freedom was successfully sustained by both presidents, despite attacks upon it from influential sources. This was

exemplified by the case of Professor Edward A. Ross, the sociologist, in 1910 (pp. 63-67) and by the fact that only one teacher, a German national, was forced out during World War I, and he for flagrant abuse of freedom of speech (p. 114). Other German citizens on the faculty were not disturbed.

Van Hise's greatness, the authors conclude, "had been less in the invention of new ideas and policies than in his work for their implementation." Van Hise "had fought well; he had temporized with circumspection; he had clearly shown academic statesmanship and greatness of spirit and action. He had made his mistakes, but the mistakes only served to emphasize his achievements" (p. 122).

Edward A. Birge, dean of the College of Letters and Science from 1891 to 1918, succeeded Van Hise. Birge had less warmth of personality than his predecessor, and his leadership was less colorful. "His formula for success was honest hard work." He was "out of sympathy although not out of touch with the educational changes which began sweeping the country after the first World War," and he was "unwilling to sponsor changes in either the organization or direction of the University during his term of office." He was, nevertheless, "completely devoted to the University he had served so long in so many capacities" (p. 139).

The authors have chronicled those events in the development of the University of Wisconsin which contributed to its role in our national educational advance. Important was the long controversy with State Superintendent of Education Charles P. Carey (1903-1921) over the question of university inspection and accreditation of public high schools (pp. 240-251).

The role of the university in teacher training and the consequent friction with the state normal schools is described in detail (pp. 251-266). The authors suggest that:

It was at least an open question whether the "highest educational interests" of the state were served by opposing the development of the teachers colleges into the regional colleges which appear to be evolving at the present, or whether these interests might not have been better served if, instead of fighting the advance of the normal schools, University officials had encouraged their growth, generously and wisely, and helped them toward educational respectability and usefulness. (p. 266)

More than half of the book is devoted to accounts of the various fields of university activity. The treatment of graduate work is brought together in brief compass (pp. 367-373). The short discussion of the personalities and work of the History Department (pp. 334-338) will be of particular interest to readers of the *Journal*, Turner, Munro, Westermann, Fish, Paxson—all are names to conjure with!

Perhaps of greatest popular interest is the extended description of the work of the College of Agriculture (chapter eleven), including the story of the Babcock butterfat test for milk and its practical implications (pp. 387-390) and also the account of the developments in the field of vitamin research (pp. 412-415).

These two volumes have told well a story well worth telling. The University of Wisconsin in many respects is our greatest state university. As the authors point out in a postscript, its greatness has stemmed from four elements: "Good men, sufficient funds, freedom in research and teaching and able leadership have been basic in the emergence of Wisconsin as a leading state university." Professors Curti and Carstensen are to be congratulated for having written a book that is scholarly and complete, and eminently readable, even to one with no personal associations with the University of Wisconsin.

Eastern Illinois State College.

CHARLES H. COLEMAN.

Southern Illinois: Resources and Potentials of the Sixteen Southernmost Counties. By the Executive Committee on Southern Illinois. (The University of Illinois Press in Urbana, 1949. Pp. 193. Clothbound \$3.00 paper-bound \$2.00.)

Sponsored by five agencies consisting of the Illinois state geological, water, and natural history surveys, the University of Illinois and Southern Illinois University, this is a regional study of the sixteen southernmost counties of the state. The project was started by the creation of an executive committee on southern Illinois organized at the request of various southern Illinois groups to aid them in a study of their economic and social problems. The difficulties of such a study were so numerous and varied that the assistance of the participating agencies was enlisted.

The book consists of sixteen chapters organized under three divisions or sections. Under "Place and People" are five chapters dealing with physical geography, history and culture, governmental organization and taxation, population trends and labor supply. The six chapters listed under "Land Minerals and Water" deal with agriculture, forest, mineral, and water resources, industries, wildlife, and recreation. The third section entitled "Business and Industry" contains chapters on transportation, power supply, financial resources, industrial pattern, and retail, wholesale, and service trades. Written by twenty-eight authors, the chapters are well balanced, objective, and cover the various topics thoroughly.

The study indicates an unbalanced economy in southern Illinois with a lack of industry causing unemployment at times, although the assets of the

area as set forth in the study greatly outweigh its liabilities. While the report is not intended as a plan of action certain recommendations are made for communities and counties, such as soil improvement, more effective land utilization, greater emphasis on recreational development, fruit and livestock raising, and a greater development of industry. These changes of emphasis will produce a better balanced economy leading to more employment opportunities at higher levels of income. The volume is well bound and printed, with numerous graphs, maps, statistical tables and attractive illustrations. There is no index.

Southern Illinois University.

HAROLD E. BRIGGS.

The Vincennes Donation Lands. By Leonard Lux. (Indiana Historical Society, *Publications*, Vol. 15, no. 4. Indianapolis, 1949. Pp. 423-497. \$1.00.)

To the list of reasons ordinarily enumerated for the development of the United States land policy, should be added one more: compensation to a group of pioneers (mostly French) to assist them in establishing a stable agricultural economy since their aid to the Revolutionary cause had brought them only hardships and suffering. Such was the origin of the Vincennes Donation Lands.

In 1788, in response to these people's appeal, the Confederation Congress granted four hundred acres of land to each head of a family who had settled at Vincennes on or before 1783, and in addition confirmed their titles to land granted under previous régimes. Later, more grants were made to American militiamen and for the Vincennes Common. As a result of many historical, legal, and local conditions, it was nearly thirty years before final settlements were made, titles confirmed, and patents issued. In the meantime, most of the original beneficiaries had sold their titles or their hopes to new settlers and speculators, so that the original purposes were not accomplished. The beneficiaries did, however, receive momentary relief, but the principal result of the donations was the stimulus they gave to the movement of settlers, and the passing of control to the American population.

Mr. Lux has uncovered the details of this story from the sources—principally the land office records, the American State Papers (Public Lands), and the Territorial papers. He has reconstructed one of those stories that illuminate the complex and variegated manner in which historical events work out. And he has written, not so much a history of lands, laws, and titles, but of the people who lived on the land, and whose lives were so fundamentally affected by the events recorded in the narrative.

Fenn College, Cleveland, Ohio.

BERNARD MANDEL.

Guide to the Swarthmore College Peace Collection: A Memorial to Jane Addams. Compiled by Ellen Starr Brenton and Hiram Doty with the assistance of Gladys Hill. (Swarthmore College Bulletin. Peace Collection Publication No. 1.)

Great Britain threatened to enter the Civil War on the side of the South in 1861 when federal officers removed two Confederate envoys from a British vessel. During the critical exchanges of diplomatic protests the *London Times* noted: "The Society of Friends have come forward with their accustomed gravity to urge the old remedy of an arbitration." Quakers during those critical days were one of the few groups who could make the *Times* or any other newspaper in Britain listen. They were, perhaps, the only preachers of peace who dared express their views openly without being hooted out of hearing. The Society of Friends have consistently maintained this principle throughout other wars.

This *Guide* is a detailed calendar of documents in the Quaker College at Swarthmore. The so-called Peace Collection contains books, pamphlets, clippings, typescripts, and organizational minutes of peace societies in the United States as well as in various foreign countries. Special collections within the Collection contain peace plays, peace posters, cartoons and material on anti-peace organizations, as well as general attacks on the peace movement. The files of several anti-war serials published especially for young people are also cataloged in the *Guide*. J. M.

Abraham Lincoln and the United States. By K. C. Wheare. (The Macmillan Company: New York, 1949. Pp. 286. \$2.00.)

What is the best one-volume biography of Abraham Lincoln? Since 1916 the reply has been "Lord Charnwood's" and it has seemed strange that such distinction should fall on a non-American, but we should not forget that many Europeans were writing about Lincoln during the first decade after his death when Lincoln seemed almost forgotten in his own country.

Critics of Charnwood's book have pointed out that recent research has revised many of the author's statements. Reviewers have also complained that Charnwood wrote more about the United States' form of government than was necessary for American readers. K. C. Wheare's is open to the same criticism, for his book, too, is aimed at a British audience. In short it is a Charnwood brought up to date, and this is about as high a compliment as can be paid a one-volume life of Lincoln. Moreover the price of \$2.00 in this age of inflated book prices is certainly attractive. J. M.

Letters from Fighting Hoosiers. Selected and edited by Howard H. Peckham and Shirley A. Snyder. (Indiana War History Commission: Bloomington, 1948. Pp. 406: \$5.00.)

Letters from Fighting Hoosiers, 131 letters chosen from a collection of 3,500, is "an attempt to convey how the war looked and sounded; how it smelled and felt to a representative number of Hoosiers." This promise of the editors is abundantly fulfilled. The selection includes letters from men in all branches of the service and all theaters of the war, and covers the years from Pearl Harbor to V-J Day and after.

Here is the story of Bataan written by an artilleryman from his jungle foxhole; here are firsthand accounts of Okinawa, Iwo Jima, the beachheads of Salerno and Normandy, the Battle of the Bulge, the surrender in Berlin, and visits to the concentration camps of Germany. Here, also, are the monotony and boredom of war; the waiting in line for "chow," for pills and shots ("hurry up and wait" became a favorite Army saying); the griping over regimental red tape, crowded transports, dehydrated food, the "stupidity" of the brass.

Here are the extremes, the contradictions of war: sudden removal from a slit trench to a luxuriously furnished apartment in a captured city, or a rest period on the French Riviera ("a million dollar vacation on a GI salary"), the mechanization of fighting and war's essential primitiveness—sleeping in rain and mud without benefit of baths or fresh clothes, cold food and weary marches days and nights on end; or the noise, then the silences. A soldier on Bataan under fire from Japanese bombs complained that the roosters kept him awake. Men nerve-wracked by the scream of shells and explosion of bombs found the silence of deserted villages oppressive. ("The town was deserted and silent. Not the silence you know, but a more profound and depressing silence. It was so quiet it was deafening. There was not a living thing in sight, only ruins.")

Brief biographical sketches give the home towns of these writers, their war records, their postwar occupations, if they survived (many lost their lives in combat). Among the writers are grocers, electricians, welders, strip miners, sheet metal workers, farmers, carpenters, mail carriers, telephone linemen, printers, insurance agents, with a sprinkling of teachers, physicians, ministers. Although a few write like news reporters or journalists, the overwhelming majority were not writers by profession.

But under the stimulus of danger and the imminence of death soldiers unschooled in the literary art achieved miracles of perception and penetration. For example, a sergeant in the infantry, now an Indiana farmer, described his meditations upon the flight of American bombers over a battlefield in

France in prose that would be hard to match. It is one of many such passages of literary excellence as well as historical value to be found in these battle reports of enlisted men:

And then a new sound gradually droned into our ears. It was deep and all encompassing, without notes—just a gigantic faraway surge of doom. It was the heavies. They came from directly behind us, and at first they were the merest dots in the sky. You could see clots of them against the far heavens, too tiny to count individually. They came on with terrible slowness. . . . I've never known a storm or a machine or any resolve of man that had about it the aura of such ghastly relentlessness. You had the feeling that even had God appeared beseechingly before them in the sky with palms outward to persuade them back they would not have had within them the power to turn from their irresistible course.

Letters from Fighting Hoosiers is the second volume (the first to appear) in a projected ten-volume history, *Indiana in World War II*, to be published by the Indiana War History Commission. Dr. Lynn W. Turner, professor of history at Indiana University, is director of the commission.

Illinois State Historical Library.

MARY WATTERS.

Guns on the Western Waters. The Story of River Gunboats in the Civil War.

By H. Allen Gosnell. (Louisiana State University Press: Baton Rouge, 1949. Pp. xii, 273. \$6.50.)

The Civil War period offers a seemingly inexhaustible and fertile field for the historical writer. This book deals with the war on the western waters and is well illustrated with drawings and photographs of river gunboats and their commanders.

To a considerable extent the author lets contemporaries, eye-witnesses, tell the stories of the thrilling engagements of these odd-appearing armored craft. He states in his introduction that he has deliberately avoided the scholarly approach. The book is entertaining, exciting, and now and then amusing as these contemporary writers saw the humor of a situation after it had passed. One such, in the chapter, "Blood and Sand and Steam," is told by Eliot Callender, then a seaman aboard the *Cincinnati*. Generals Grant, McClelland, and C. F. Smith were in conference with Admiral Foote aboard the *Cincinnati*. As they were leaving they noticed a torpedo which had been pulled up out of the water. But let Seaman Callender tell the story:

They gathered about it with expressions of interest and curiosity, as it was the first seen in the war. . . . General Grant, having expressed a wish to see the mechanism of the affair, the ship's armorer was sent for, who soon appeared with monkey-wrench, hammer, and chisels. The iron end was soon loosened and removed, disclosing another ending in a cap with a

screw head. The thing was now getting interesting, and the assembled officers bent closely over it to get a better view of the infernal contrivance. As this cap was unscrewed, it allowed vent to a quantity of gas inside, probably generated from the wet powder, which rushed out with a loud sizzling noise. Believing that the hour for evening prayer had arrived, two of the army officers threw themselves face downward upon the deck. Admiral Foote, with the agility of a cat, sprang up the ship's ladder, followed with commendable enthusiasm by General Grant. Reaching the top, and realizing that the danger, if any, had passed, the Admiral turned around to General Grant, who was displaying more energy than grace in his first efforts on a ship's ladder, and said, with his quiet smile, "General, why this haste?" "That the navy may not get ahead of us," as quietly responded the General as he turned around to come down.

This book would be helped if it had an index and a bibliography but it is intended primarily to be read and enjoyed. It should appeal especially to all who love to read about naval encounters. The author is a former lieutenant commander in the U. S. Navy.

S. A. W.

Indiana Authors and Their Books, 1816-1916. Compiled by R. E. Banta. (Published as a contribution to institutional libraries by Wabash College: Crawfordsville, Ind., 1949. Pp. xvii, 352.)

This is truly an amazing book, and we suspect that its magnitude surprised even the compiler. He says that "the compilation of this work has been a long task but a pleasant one." His brief introduction or foreword, "A Word About Indiana Authors," is a delightful resumé of the literary efforts of this influential Midwestern state. Indiana's ability to produce authors who write best sellers is something to ponder. Surpassed, in this respect, only by New York state, and "a fighting second at that," Indiana occupies an unusual position in the American literary scene.

An attractive book and an interesting one to read, it is filled with hundreds (we did not count them) of biographical sketches of the important, the less important, and the wholly insignificant writers whom Indiana claims. The distinguished names are amazing: Ade, Dreiser, Tarkington, Riley, Eggleston, George Barr McCutcheon, Albert J. Beveridge, William Vaughn Moody, Meredith Nicholson, Mary Hartwell Catherwood, and Will Cuppy, to name only a very few of the more familiar ones that troop through these pages. No doubt other states would claim many of the authors, too, but if they were born in Indiana and had published anything from 1816 to 1916, they belong to Indiana. Were it not for the arbitrary dates, the list would doubtless be much greater—Lloyd Lewis and Ernie Pyle, at least, would have been included.

The basis for inclusion, in addition to having published prior to 1916, is: "writers . . . who (a) were born in Indiana, (b) were reared and educated

in Indiana, (c) whose literary work began during residence in Indiana and was obviously influenced by Indiana residence, or (d) who chose Indiana as a place in which to spend a major portion of their lives." Once an author has been listed, the bibliography of his writings is brought down to date.

S. A. W.

The Hall Carbine Affair: A Study in Contemporary Folklore. By R. Gordon Wasson. (Pandick Press, Inc.: New York, 1948. Pp. 190. \$4.00.)

This is a revised edition of a book first published in 1941. Briefly, it concerns some 5,000 Hall carbines that were bought from the government soon after the Civil War began at \$3.50 each and then sold back to a Union general (John C. Frémont) for \$22 apiece.

The guns changed hands several times before getting back to the government and in one of these transactions J. Pierpont Morgan made a loan of \$20,000 on them. Because of this various writers have said or implied that the Morgan fortune was founded on Civil War profiteering. Wasson sets out to "prove that the alleged transaction, insofar as the case against Morgan is concerned, is legend, not fact." This he does pretty effectively by going to the original sources—most of which are government records that were neglected by other authors. However, if he had stated that his purpose was to correct an error which had crept into history he would have accomplished the same end without leaving the suspicion that his motives were not much higher than those of the writers he chastises.

By giving the full details of one series of transactions in Civil War supplies Wasson reminds his readers that the scramble for a quick dollar was just as hectic then as it was more recently in World War II. And also his work suggests that he or other authors might perform a worthwhile service by using his approach to the story of the latter conflict.

H. F. R.

Uncle Willie Presents. . . By Willard S. Richey. (Journal Publishing Company, Tuscola, Illinois, 1949. Pp. 26.)

The only complaint a reader could have about this little collection of reprints from the columns of the *Tuscola Journal* is that there aren't enough of them. Although the title page says that "Bachelor Bill" is writing "on the life and times of early days in Douglas County" most of what he says could be applied to pioneering anywhere in Illinois. And he knows what he is writing about. When he tells how wooden door latches were made, for instance, he goes through the process step by step so that when he is finished the reader could make a latch himself. The same is true of kraut and other pioneer products. But there should be more of them.

H. F. R.

A YEAR'S MAGAZINE ARTICLES OF INTEREST TO ILLINOISANS

"The Fred Harvey System." By Charles W. Hurd. (*The Colorado Magazine*, July, 1949.)

"Paulding Satirizes Owenism." By Mentor Williams. (*Indiana Magazine of History*, Dec., 1948.)

"An Owenite Society in Illinois." By Walter B. Hendrickson. (*Indiana Magazine of History*, June, 1949.)

"Buffalo to Chicago in 1839." By Fred Landon. (*Inland Seas*, Fall, 1948.)

"The 'President Maker' Goes West." By Mentor L. Williams. (*Inland Seas*, Winter, 1948.) An account of Thurlow Weed's trip on the Great Lakes to the Chicago Harbor and River Convention.

"Communism in Early Iowa." By Ava Johnson. (*Annals of Iowa*, July, 1949.)

"The Mississippi River Through Many Eyes." By William J. Peterson. (*The Iowa Journal of History and Politics*, Oct., 1948.)

"Jefferson Davis and the Rock Island Bridge." By Dwight L. Agnew. (*Iowa Journal of History*, Jan., 1949.)

"The Civil War Diary of Colonel John Henry Smith." Edited by David M. Smith. (*Iowa Journal of History*, April, 1949.)

"Over the Santa Fe Trail Through Kansas in 1858." By H. B. Möllhausen; translated by John A. Burzle. (*The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, Nov., 1948.)

"From New York to Illinois by Water in 1840." By Edward Brewster. (*Michigan History*, Sept., 1948.)

"Down to Our State in Ships." By Edward J. Dowling, S. J. (*Michigan History*, March, 1949.) A brief story of shipping on the Great Lakes.

"Cantonment Wilkinsonville." By Norman W. Caldwell. (*Mid-America*, Jan., 1949.)

"Internal Improvements in Illinois Politics, 1837-1842." By John H. Krenkel. (*Mid-America*, April, 1949.)

"James Stuart's Journey up the River Mississippi in 1830." By W. H. G. Armytage. (*Mid-America*, April, 1949.)

"The Early Theatre in the Upper Mississippi Valley." By Harold and Ernestine Briggs. (*Mid-America*, July, 1949.)

"Passenger Trains of Yesteryear on the Minneapolis & St. Louis." By Frank P. Donovan. (*Minnesota History*, Sept., 1949.)

"Toward a Western Literature." By David Donald and Frederick A. Palmer. (*Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, Dec., 1948.)

"The Pony Express Starts From St. Joseph." By Olaf T. Hagen. (*Missouri Historical Review*, Oct., 1948.)

"Handcarts on the Overland Trail." By Jay Monaghan. (*Nebraska History*, March, 1949.)

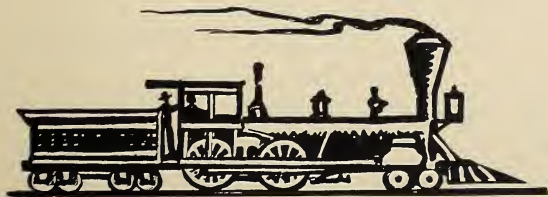
"Seed Humbuggery Among Western Farmers, 1850-1888." By Earl W. Hayter. (*The Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Quarterly*, Jan. 1949.)

"Lincoln and Iowa." By William J. Petersen. (*The Palimpsest*, Aug., 1949.) The June, 1949, issue of *The Palimpsest* is devoted to "Iowa Dime Novels," a subject that may interest many an old-timer.

"The Original Typewriter Enterprise, 1867-1873." By Richard N. Current. (*Wisconsin Magazine of History*, June, 1949.)

The copies of *Chicago History*, published quarterly by the Chicago Historical Society, have a peculiar charm. Like the enjoyment of good food, they must be sampled to be appreciated.

The latest issue of the *Egyptian Key* to come to our attention (Vol. 3, no. 2, June, 1949) contains as usual many interesting articles. Those who have visited Cairo will want to read the one on "Fort Defiance" by Guyla Wallis Moreland and see the illustrations.





THE GOLDEN ANNIVERSARY MEETING

Governor Adlai E. Stevenson, Carl Sandburg, Allan Nevins, Frazier Hunt, Fern Nance Pond, and Everett M. Dirksen composed the largest group of distinguished speakers ever assembled for a program of the Illinois State Historical Society and they attracted by far the largest attendance in the Society's first half-century to the Golden Anniversary celebration in Springfield on October 7 and 8. Although the sessions lasted for two full days there was no flagging of interest on the part of the members. They even found time for a business meeting at which the constitution was amended so that directors may not be re-elected until a year after their terms expire. And then the Society chose the following directors for the three-year term:

Elmer E. Abrahamson, attorney, Chicago;
 David V. Felts, newspaperman, Decatur;
 Ralph Hinchliff, industrialist, Rockford;
 Philip L. Keister, attorney, Freeport;
 Clarence P. McClelland, president of MacMurray College,
 Jacksonville.

The directors met later and named the following officers for 1949-1950: President, Scerial Thompson, Harrisburg; senior vice-president, O. F. Ander, Rock Island; vice-presidents, George C. Dixon, Dixon; Vernon L. Nickell, Springfield; C. C. Tisler, Ottawa; H. Gary Hudson, Jacksonville; Oscar Hayward, Winnetka; and Mrs. Harry L. Meyer, Alton.

Mayor Harry A. Eielson extended Springfield's welcome to the Society at the opening luncheon on Friday, at the Abraham Lincoln Hotel, which was addressed by Governor Stevenson and Frazier Hunt, author and foreign correspondent. The Governor, a long-time member of the Society,

urged local groups to continue their work in preserving historic landmarks and said that the state will acquire and maintain as many of the important ones as finances will permit.

The business session followed this luncheon and lasted until after the tea at the Executive Mansion was scheduled to begin. Guests were received at the tea by the wives of former presidents of the Historical Society.

The Sponsors' Dinner on Friday was held at the Leland Hotel, where Historian Allan Nevins delivered the address of the evening. His talk was titled "Stephen A. Douglas: His Weaknesses and His Greatness." (See page 385 of this issue.) The Nevins paper was preceded by a recital of folk songs by R. E. Patton, of Springfield, accompanied by Mrs. Patton on the piano and A. J. Cope on the banjo.

Saturday's schedule was nearly as full as Friday's. Four busses and about fifty private cars made the twenty-three-mile trip to New Salem State Park where Fern Nance Pond, of Petersburg, told the story of the research and work necessary to make the village as it was when Lincoln lived there as a young man. The large group then strolled through the park with Mrs. Pond as their guide and assembled at the museum entrance where benches had been arranged on the grass and a loud-speaker system set up for the Sandburg talk. Fred Schrader, of Springfield, introduced the poet and Lincoln biographer, who kept his audience spellbound for more than half an hour with his extemporaneous stories and songs that were sung when New Salem was young. During his talk he read a recently discovered speech attributed to Lincoln, which he called the best interpretation of the Declaration of Independence he had ever seen. (It is published in Sandburg's latest book, *Lincoln Collector*, and in *Collier's* magazine for October 15, 1949.) A wire recording of the Sandburg address was made by Fred Schrader, who later had it transcribed. A limited number of mimeographed copies have been made and are available to those who desire them; however, the talk will be published later in this *Journal*.

Following this program the members ate luncheon at the Wagon Wheel Inn at New Salem Park, then returned to Springfield where the Golden Anniversary Banquet was held Saturday night at the Abraham Lincoln Hotel. Speaker of the evening at this final event was former Congressman Everett M. Dirksen, of Pekin. He drew a comparison between the headlines and problems of 1899, date of the founding of the Historical Society, and 1949. His listeners were surprised to find how little the world seemed to have changed. The hors d'oeuvres of the evening's entertainment was a presentation of the Lincoln-Douglas debate scene from Robert E. Sherwood's play, *Abe Lincoln in Illinois*, with G. William Horsley as Lincoln and S. Phil Hutchison as Douglas.



Edgar F. Schulz photo

FERN NANCE POND TELLS NEW SALEM STORY At the beginning of the Historical Society's visit to the Park.



Elmer E. Abrahamson photo

SANDBURG'S AUDIENCE SITS SPELLBOUND On the grass in the warm October sun.



WHAT A DAY FOR A STROLL IN THE PARK!
New Salem's "street" was never so crowded in Lincoln's time.



Photos by Edgar F. Schulz

YOUNGER VISITORS FIND PROGRAM ENGROSSING
History proves its popularity outside the classroom.

Thus the program progressed according to the schedule arranged by Chairman Wayne C. Townley and his committee. The weatherman co-operated wholeheartedly when he could have discouraged attendance at some of the events, particularly the one at New Salem. An estimated 300 persons attended the meetings, and while not all of them were at all of the sessions the number at the Friday luncheon and dinner taxed the accommodations provided at their respective hotels, and the Wagon Wheel Inn was able to serve only 125 guests at each of two sittings, which meant that some were disappointed by not being able to lunch with the rest of the group.

Among the guests at the opening luncheon were J. J. Viala, consul general of France, and D. A. H. Wright, acting consul general of Great Britain (both of Chicago), representatives of the two foreign countries which had once held possession of what is now Illinois. Although they had originally planned to stay for only the one luncheon, both remained for the two full days.

Throughout the programs the tables were decorated with fall flowers. The local arrangements committees are indebted to S. A. Barker for a floral piece used at the speakers' table and to Peter F. Rossiter for the flowers at the registration desk.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE SECRETARY

October 7, 1949

*To the Directors and Members
of the Illinois State Historical Society*

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

A year ago I reported that our campaign for new members had netted us 485 as compared to 268 the previous year. This increase in 1948 amounted to almost 25 per cent. I am happy to tell you that our increase this year amounts to 1,810, a gain of 32.4 per cent over the 1948 total. Two years ago we set 2,000 members as the goal for our Fiftieth Anniversary. Last year we were well over this figure and we set a new one: we hoped to get 5,000—not 2,000—by the time of our anniversary meeting. You will be interested to know that our total membership mailing list on October 1 was 6,380. This makes us, I believe, one of the largest historical societies in the world.

A year ago we had members in all but eleven counties of the state. Today we have members in every one of the 102 counties in Illinois. This great increase has been due, we hope, to the superiority of our publications,

but it has also been due to the energy and loyalty of members of the Society and to certain staff members of the Historical Library. Mr. Dayton W. Canaday, in addition to his other duties as book scout for the Library, has publicized the services our Society offers and he has gained for us hundreds of members. Another staff member, Mrs. Francis Whitney, has diligently written some 2,450 letters to prospective members. Jewell Stevens has acted as chairman of the Society's membership committee to organize volunteers. He divided the state into four zones, as follows: (1) DuPage and Cook counties with Elmer Abrahamson as chairman; (2) the Northern Zone under the direction of Wayne C. Townley; (3) the Central Zone under the chairmanship of Mrs. Harry L. Meyer; (4) the Southern Illinois Zone presided over by Sercial Thompson. To all these volunteers our members should be grateful for their efforts to increase membership. At the head of them all we must salute Mrs. Harry L. Meyer for recruiting 1,300 Junior members in the Alton public schools. Special recognition should also be given Philip Keister of Freeport, Michael Kross and H. A. Berens of DuPage County, and Willis Reddick and Louis Hey of Sangamon County. Many other members, too numerous to mention, have helped us attain our present enrollment. We have published their names with thanks every six months in the Society's *Journal*. The following have achieved the distinction of being cited in both of the last two six-month lists:

The Abraham Lincoln Book Shop	Everette B. Long
Elmer E. Abrahamson	Mrs. Harry L. Meyer
Mrs. W. K. Chapman	J. G. Randall
Mrs. R. S. Cooke	Mrs. Addie R. Ranson
Irving Dilliard	Mrs. Frank C. Reilly
Mollie Duffy	Mabel E. Richmond
David V. Felts	Dr. R. C. Slater
Meda Hill Fisher	Hermon Dunlap Smith
Mrs. Cora Jacobs	Jewell F. Stevens
Mrs. C. E. Knapp	Mrs. Francis A. Whitney
Paul O. Lewis	

It may be of interest to note the areas where the percentage of increase has been the largest. The northern part of the state gained 49 per cent. Central Illinois gained 45 per cent, Southern Illinois 42 per cent and DuPage and Cook counties 37 per cent. During this same period our Junior Historian membership gained 44 per cent—the greatest advance the Society has ever known.

This gain in membership with the concurrent payment of dues has put us in splendid financial condition. The Society's funds on September 29

totaled \$17,824.86. (The complete financial statement is printed separately.) This large capital is due to an accrual of money paid in dues plus \$3,580.50 raised by the Fiftieth Anniversary Fund committee under the direction of Oscar Hayward.

Now that we have assembled here to observe our Fiftieth Anniversary I am sure that all of you will enjoy the papers prepared for us. We are particularly fortunate in having a program chairman, Wayne C. Townley, who has arranged for lectures by Frazier Hunt, Allan Nevins, Fern Nance Pond, Carl Sandburg, and Everett M. Dirksen.

Completion of the Society's extensive publication program for this anniversary can be announced at this time. The two books, *The Story of Illinois* by Theodore Calvin Pease, and *This Is Illinois*, a pictorial history compiled by your secretary, are both on sale now commercially. They may be ordered through local book stores or by writing direct to the University of Chicago Press. All members of the Illinois State Historical Society may purchase these volumes at reduced prices. The other publishing project for the anniversary—the gigantic index to the first twenty-five volumes of our Society's *Journal*—nears completion. This task has taken over five years. The printing is being done by the state. All proofs have been read and we wait only for the binders to finish the job.

Our activities outside the publishing field have been more numerous this year than usual. On May 20-21, the Society visited the sites of the early French settlements a Cahokia, Prairie du Rocher, and Kaskaskia. This spring tour was described at length in the June issue of our *Journal*. The success of the meeting was due largely to the energy and executive aptness of Irving Dilliard, Mrs. William H. Matlack, and Miss Rose Boylan. At Fort de Chartres a delicious luncheon was served us by Mr. Thomas Conner and members of St. Joseph's Church at Prairie du Rocher.

The Society's experiment with the publication of the *Junior Historian* magazine has progressed past the trial stage. We are now entering the third year of this activity. The work started by Directors O. Fritiof Ander and John H. Hauberg has spread from Rock Island to Will and Edwards counties. Mr. John Burhorn has been employed as full-time director for this project, and all of us look forward to a most successful expansion. This publishing venture, as you know, is partially self-supporting. Mr. Burhorn is employed by the Historical Library, and the dues from junior subscriptions defray the costs of printing. The first year of operation ended with a modest surplus of \$261.96. Last year our books showed a balance of \$464.84. As our venture is a non-profit one for the benefit of Illinois school children, and as our increased enrollment promises an even larger surplus we are able to cut the price from

\$1.00 to \$.75 for club subscriptions, and the size of the format will be increased as our finances permit. A vote of thanks is due the Council for the Social Studies for its interest in this project and the energy and enthusiasm with which it has worked to spread the junior historian movement in Illinois schools.

The recognition our organization has received in the press is gratifying. Our clipping service discloses 640 news items concerning Society activities. This number may be compared with 520 citations last year and 150 in 1947. As always, the *Journal's* editor can learn much from the comments about our publications in other periodicals. Articles in the *Journal* receiving the most favorable reviews during the last year were Clarence Paine's "Wild Bill Hickok," Lloyd Lewis's "Lincoln and Pinkerton," Paolo Coletta's "Silas Bryan of Salem," Carl Roden's "The Beaubien Claim," and the Mexican War journal edited by Alfred J. Henderson.

During 1949 the Society renewed its old policy of placing historical markers on Illinois highways. Your directors decided on a program of erecting three such markers per year. The three selected for 1949 have been the Lewis and Clark camp site on Wood River, the old Alton Penitentiary, and the Palestine Land Office.

The register of deaths of members of the Society since our last meeting seems unusually large:

Dr. Oliver A. Meyer, Alton
 Henry C. Morris, Chicago
 Nell B. Waldron, Normal
 Mrs. Albyn Adams, Jacksonville
 Albert H. Griffith, Oshkosh, Wis.
 Miss Mabel E. Williams, Decatur
 Mrs. M. G. M. Jones, Jacksonville
 Stanley K. Faye, Aurora
 W. W. Tracy, Springfield
 O. W. Jones, Murphysboro
 John Nuveen, Chicago
 Nettie S. Lindsay, Decatur
 Mrs. Alice Martin, Virginia

Joseph C. Mason, Arlington, Va.
 Mrs. Mary L. Langworthy, Winnetka
 Rev. John H. Ryan, Pontiac
 Mr. and Mrs. Arthur Meeker, Chicago
 Dr. Arthur H. Lybyer, Urbana
 Robert E. Schaad, Virginia
 Lloyd Lewis, Libertyville
 Ben Wiley, Springfield
 Charles Leroy Brown, Chicago
 Charles R. Webber, Baltimore, Md.
 Marshall Solberg, Chicago
 Father Jean Delanglez, Chicago
 William H. Sinnock, Quincy

Our readers will notice among the above the names of some of the state's most eminent writers and scholars of European as well as of American history. Four on this list have been members of the Society for over forty years. It is fitting and proper, I think, for us to pause a moment in respect to these members who have themselves moved into the realm of history.

Faithfully submitted,

J. MONAGHAN.

FINANCIAL REPORT

714 FIRST NATIONAL BANK BUILDING

SPRINGFIELD, ILLINOIS

SEPTEMBER 29, 1949

*The Illinois State Historical Society**Springfield, Illinois*

GENTLEMEN:

I have examined the books and accounts of The Illinois State Historical Society for the period beginning September 1, 1948 and ending August 31, 1949. All receipts were checked against bank deposits and all expenditures against voucher checks.

Upon such examination, I find the following:

Cash in 1st National Bank on Sept. 1, 1948.	\$	3,748.33	
Jr. Historian cash in 1st Nat'l Bank 9/1/48.		261.96	
		<hr/>	\$ 4,010.29
Cash in Springfield Marine Bank 9/1/48.			2,000.00
			<hr/>
Total cash on hand September 1, 1948.	\$		6,010.29
RECEIPTS—Junior Historian Fund.			1,418.80
Receipts 50th Anniversary Fund.			98.00

OTHER RECEIPTS:

Regular Memberships	\$	5,834.00	
Life memberships		600.00	
		<hr/>	
Total memberships	\$	6,434.00	
Books sold		25.00	
Interest on Government bonds. .		45.00	
Interest on Savings in Marine Bk.		20.00	
Miscellaneous (postage, etc.) . .		9.72	
		<hr/>	\$ 6,533.72

EXPENDITURES:

Printing	\$	925.01
Miscellaneous (clipping bureau, postage, Bank charges, etc.) . .		926.38
Meeting expenses		449.19
Travel expense		625.35
Salaries		1,117.20
Withholding tax		82.80
Editorial expense		100.00

Half tones	86.60	
	<hr/>	4,312.53
Net Gain		<hr/> 2,221.19
		\$ 9,748.28
Junior Historian Expenditures.....		<hr/> 1,215.92
		\$ 8,532.36
50th Anniversary Fund Expenditures:		
Sent to Treasurer of fund.....\$	23.00	
Returned to donors.....	15.00	
	<hr/>	38.00
Cash on hand September 1, 1949.....		\$ 8,494.36
<i>U. S. Government Bonds on Hand:</i>		
Ten \$500 bonds purchased 9/12/39 at a cost of.....		3,750.00
(Numbered respectively D281796-98-99; D281800-01-02-03-04-05-06. These bonds fall due in September 1949 and so now have a value of \$5,000 but accrued interest has not been taken into account)		
U. S. bonds purchased in November, 1945—cost.....		2,000.00
(No. 7040L and No. 7041A- 2¼ Treasury of 1959-62, \$1000 each)		
		<hr/>
		\$ 14,244.36

* * * * *

September 1, 1949 Resource and Liability Statement:

	Resources	Liabilities
Cash in 1st National Bank.....\$	6,474.36	
Cash in Springfield Marine Bank.....	2,020.00	
U. S. Government bonds as above.....	5,750.00	
Junior Historian Fund.....		464.84
50th Anniversary Fund.....		60.00
Net worth of Illinois State Historical Society....		13,719.52
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	\$ 14,244.36	\$ 14,244.36

Yours truly,

(signed) LUCY C. WILLIAMS

To this sum should be added the \$3,580.50 collected by Oscar Hayward making a total of \$17,824.86.

WHEN SANDBURG WENT TO NEW SALEM

The combination of Carl Sandburg and New Salem was one that camera fans among the members of the Historical Society could not resist. As a result practically every third person who made the trip to the Park on October 8, carried a camera. The picture on the cover of this issue was one of the best of the many good photographs taken. It was made by Cecil Tendrick of the *Jacksonville Journal-Courier*. Seated to the left of Sandburg is Fred Schrader, of Springfield, who was in charge of the Society's program at New Salem. (Other pictures on pages 488-89.)



"OTTAWA CHIEFTAINS"

(Reprinted from Charles Collins' column, "A Line 'o Type or Two," in the *Chicago Daily Tribune* of June 7, 1949. Another review of the book appeared in the *June*, 1949, *Journal*.)

"Two Judges of Ottawa," by Wayne C. Townley; published by the McLean County Historical Society, Bloomington, Ill.

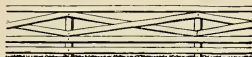
This book is an excellent example of regional history, carefully studied with reference to the character and influence of a small city's chief personalities. In the early years of the Illinois saga, it seems that Ottawa had quite a reputation as a center of social culture, educational progress, and political influence. Mr. Townley says it "so far outdistanced the majority of places in Illinois as to be a subject of common remark." It had its mansion builders, too, before Chicago took up domestic architecture on a large scale, and some of them are still standing on Ottawa's north bluff, overlooking the town and its river vistas.

The two judges of the book's title were T. Lyle Dickey and John Dean Caton. Mr. Townley deals with them at length, but while warming up to full-length studies of these distinguished jurists, he sketches many other worthies of the Ottawa legend and also gives Lincoln an occasional entrance upon the scene. Altogether, he has done a scrupulous job of background painting.

Ottawa's first citizens often had Chicago connections during the period with which Mr. Townley deals, and quite a few, after building their houses on the bluff, moved to Chicago to build others. Among these migrants was Mr. Townley's favorite character, Judge Caton, whose story fills almost half the book. After the fortune he had acquired from real estate speculation became impressive and his investment in telegraf communications had put him into the millionaire class, he established a home in Chicago. Furthermore, he selected a site on Prairie av. in 1872, early in that street's social

history. Most of the characters in Arthur Meeker's novel, *Prairie Avenue*, must have been johnny-come-latelies to the Catons.

Judge Caton had one son, Arthur, and two daughters, Laura and Caroline. They married, and their father built homes for the new families close to his own. Arthur Caton, lawyer by profession and gentleman of fashion by avocation, became a Chicago legend of the high, wide, and handsome way of living, according to the manners of the 1880s and 1890s. He died in 1904, and his widow became the second wife of Marshall Field.



Backwoods Sister is the title of a novel written by Marion Neville (Mrs. John Drury) about Abraham Lincoln's sister Sarah. Publication of excerpts from the story was begun on October 6, in the *Chesterton* (Indiana) *Tribune*. Sarah Lincoln was two years older than her brother, she was married in 1826 to Aaron Grigsby and died in 1828.



Glen Ellyn's young historian, Frederick Weiser, has published an interesting booklet, *Early Times Around About Glen Ellyn*. The material originally appeared as a series of articles in the *Wheaton Daily Journal*, June through September, 1949. Fred, who was born November 25, 1935, is the youngest member of the DuPage County Historical Society. He is also a member of the Illinois State Historical Society. A Lincoln collector and enthusiast, he has held membership in the Abraham Lincoln Association since he was ten years old. Fred's booklet sells for fifty cents.

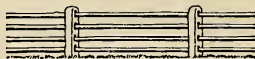


At the October meeting of the Alton Area Historical Society Guy D. Helmick spoke on "Resources Which Early Settlers Found Here." Members also visited the rock on the bluffs above the Alton waterworks, and then went to the plant of the Alton Brick Company where Harry L. Meyer talked on the manufacture of brick.



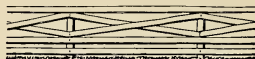
The Aurora Historical Society's annual "Old Settlers' Reunion" attracted a crowd of over one thousand to Phillips Park last August. This, the twenty-first reunion, particularly honored Frank Weisgerber—one of the Aurora

Historical Museum's most enthusiastic supporters. This museum, in the old Tanner home, is one of the best of its kind in the state. It is maintained by the Aurora Historical Society solely by contributions and memberships.

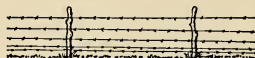


Within recent months the Bureau County Historical Society has received many interesting gifts. Among these are several canvases by Julian Bryant, an Illinois artist who was drowned in the Gulf of Mexico at the close of the Civil War. This collection was the gift of Arthur Bryant III, of Princeton.

Two tours of old homes in Princeton were available to Society members and their guests on the afternoons of September 18 and 19 between one and five o'clock.



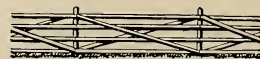
The Cahokia Historical Society had a picnic supper on August 29 in Forest Park, St. Louis, and attended the Municipal Opera's performance of the "Song of Norway."



Hermon Dunlap Smith has been named first vice-president of the Chicago Historical Society and Dr. James A. James, second vice-president. Willard L. King has been elected to the Society's board of trustees.

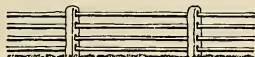
The notable events of the month, in both local and national history, are regularly made the subjects of exhibits in the Chicago Historical Society's museum. Chicago's children are visiting this museum in ever increasing numbers according to Director Paul M. Angle.

The past three years have brought many changes to the exhibit rooms. Thirteen have been done over completely and there have been minor changes and additions in others. Two new rooms were opened in October: the New Republic Room, containing exhibits belonging to the period from 1800 to 1830, and the Westward Expansion Room, for exhibits from 1830 to the Civil War.



The sixteenth annual reunion of the Lawndale-Crawford Historical Association (Chicago) was held on October 27, at the Toman Branch Library. Arthur D. McLane was the principal speaker. His topic, "Milepost 100," reviewed some of the outstanding events in the history of the Burlington

road—one hundred years old in 1949. The program also included square dancing with William Del Frank as "caller." Peter B. Ritzma was the program director.



Robert A. Jamieson has been elected president of the West Side (Chicago) Historical Society. Other officers chosen in October include: Pearl Field, honorary life president; Helen S. Babcock, honorary president; Charles X. Clancy, first vice-president; Hobart H. Sommers, second vice-president; Margaret McBride, third vice-president; and John F. Butler, fourth vice-president. Stanley Pargellis spoke at the Society's fall meeting in November.



Paul M. Angle was the guest speaker at the October 14, meeting of the Historical Society of Woodlawn (Chicago). Mr. Angle talked about incidents in Illinois history with which people, in general, are not familiar.



Officers of the Edwards County Historical Society are: James Hardy, president; L. R. Pitzer, vice-president; Mrs. Laura Killough, treasurer; Mrs. Edna Oakley, recording secretary; Alice Bradshaw, corresponding secretary. The trustees are: Gilbert Jones, Roy Curtis, and L. R. Pitzer. E. L. Dukes is custodian of the Society's library and museum.

Elmer Phelps showed motion pictures at the October meeting. They were films taken in the very early days of the "movies." The styles of clothing and ancient-vintage cars were in striking contrast with the scenes on the beautiful reel in color of Kentucky scenery and people which Mr. Phelps took on his vacation this past summer.

In November Mrs. Walter A. Wheeler was in charge of the program. "Old Silver" was the topic of discussion.



A project of the Geneva Historical Society is to add a copy of the cemetery records to the Society's files. Officers of the group are: Dr. Charles H. Lytle, president; Mary Wheeler, first vice-president; Mrs. Warren Smith, second vice-president; Jeanita Peterson, treasurer; Mrs. Margaret A. Allan, secretary. The board members are: Mrs. William D. Bangs, Sr., William H. Bullock, Elva Garfield, Rufus C. Bennett, Edith Bailey, and Edwin Soderstrom.

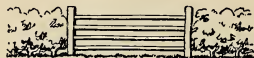
The annual picnic for members of the Glencoe Historical Society and their families was held on Sunday, August 21. Hostesses for the event were Mrs. Charles A. Saxby and Mrs. L. H. Hein. Mrs. George R. Young was chairman of the social committee, and Mrs. J. K. Calhoun, program chairman.



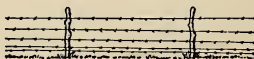
The enthusiasm for local history is spreading. At present plans are being considered for the organization of a Greene County historical society. Mrs. L. A. Dickson spoke before the county board of supervisors in September on behalf of the contemplated society.



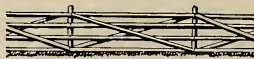
At the September meeting of the Jefferson County Historical Society in Mt. Vernon, Mother Mary Aloysia read a paper on the "History of Hospital Foundations in Mt. Vernon and Jefferson County." Mrs. Edna Casey is president of the group.



Ralph Francis, president of the Kankakee County Historical Society, spoke before the Kankakee Lions Club on August 23. Lions Club members were then taken on an escorted tour of the historical and arts building by Mr. Francis, Mrs. Harry Yeates, Mrs. Fannie Still, Mrs. Harold Simmons, and Mrs. E. S. Myers.



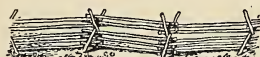
Logan County also feels the need of a historical society. An editorial in the *Lincoln Courier* of September 23, entitled "We Need a Historical Society," urged citizens to breathe life into the idea.



The McLean County Historical Society has received another piece of Lincoln's handwriting. This is in the form of a small card dated "Aug. 29, 1861" on which Lincoln wrote, "Sec. of Treasury, please see J. S. Beard, bearer of this." The card was presented to the Society by Clara Hassler, a niece of the original J. S. Beard.

Officers of the Madison County Historical Society, elected at Alhambra on October 1, are: Donald F. Lewis, president; Ella Tunnell, first vice-president; the Rev. A. L. Ludwig, second vice-president; Jessie Springer, secretary; C. W. Ellis, treasurer; and Harry Dorsey, historian. Directors re-elected include: Jesse R. Brown, the Rev. A. L. Ludwig, H. P. S. Smith, and William Water. Mary Harnsberger was elected a director to fill the vacancy on the board created by the death of Henry B. Eaton.

Judge Jesse R. Brown spoke at this meeting on the topic, "Alhambra Through the Years."



Mrs. Eugene Schmidt presided at the October meeting of the Edwardsville chapter of the Madison County Historical Society. The speakers were Mrs. V. H. Mindrup, who told of the visit to New Salem State Park with the Illinois State Historical Society on October 8, and Mrs. Dallas Harrell, who described Carl Sandburg's talk at New Salem and read some of his poems. Mrs. W. H. Morgan is program chairman.



Officers of the Mattoon Historical Society named at its annual meeting in October include: Dr. Horace Batchelor, president; R. Harvey Wright, vice-president; Mrs. J. H. Glover, secretary; and Earl Robertson, treasurer. Directors chosen for three-year terms are: Mrs. Horace Champion and Joseph Sawyer.

Dr. Morrison Sharp, the principal speaker at this meeting, talked on the subject, "In Defense of the Puritans."

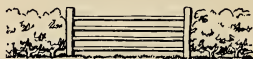


Historic little Nauvoo, onetime Mormon capital, held its Annual Grape Festival on September 9, 10, and 11. Noted for its famous blue cheese the community's celebrations included the "Wedding of the Wine and Cheese," a parade, and historic tours to the old wine cellars and cheese caves. This year additional parking and picnic facilities were provided in the new Nauvoo State Park.



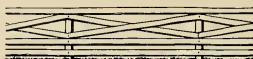
At the October 20, meeting of the Oak Park Historical Society Mrs. James W. Wilson presented "Early Days in South Oak Park." Mrs. George W. White presided.

Leslie H. Ernst spoke at the Peoria Historical Society's first meeting of the season in October. His topic was, "Peoria Newspapers and Newspapermen I Have Known." George E. Johnson is president of the group.

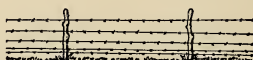


The Illinois State Historical Society records with sorrow the death of William H. Sinnock, on July 23, 1949. Mr. Sinnock, lifetime president of the Historical Society of Quincy and Adams County, had been a member of the State Historical Society since 1939. A photograph of the John Wood mansion, the headquarters of the Historical Society of Quincy and Adams County, appears on the cover of *Old Illinois Houses*, by John Drury. This was a publication of the State Historical Society in 1948.

Officers of the Historical Society of Quincy and Adams County are: James W. Carrott, first vice-president and acting president; Oliver B. Williams, second-vice-president; William J. Dieterich, recording secretary; Ella Rogers, corresponding secretary; Harvey H. Sprick, treasurer; Mrs. Leaton Irwin, librarian; Mrs. Louise W. Abbot, historiographer; Julius Kespohl, auditor. The trustees are: L. E. Emmons, Sr., Dr. E. B. Montgomery, George Irwin, William F. Gerdes, Jr., and W. Edwin Brown.



Officers of the St. Charles Historical Society are: Mrs. Hugo Schneck, president; Mrs. Rex Wells, vice-president; Mrs. Paul Nelson, secretary; Mrs. Selma Mitchell, librarian; May Jordan, treasurer; and Russel C. Norris, publicity chairman.

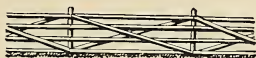


The fall meeting of the St. Clair County Historical Society was held at Lebanon in the McKendree College chapel on October 31. The principal speakers were the Rev. W. H. Whitlock, who spoke on "Looking Glass Prairie, Its Ruins and Memories," and Dr. W. C. Walton, whose topic was "Lebanon, Its People and Institutions." Dr. L. G. Osborn gave a brief review and comments. The music was furnished by McKendree College under the direction of Glenn Freiner.

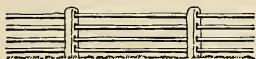


Judge Elihu Nicholas Hall, author of *Ballads from the Bluffs*, was the

principal speaker at the September meeting of the Saline County Historical Society. The group met in Harrisburg.



The Southern Illinois Historical Society held its autumn dinner meeting in Carbondale on October 21. This annual get-together was in conjunction with the diamond jubilee and homecoming celebration of Southern Illinois University, October 20 to 22. Principal speaker for the Historical Society was Richard L. Beyer, now of Erie, Pennsylvania, but formerly head of the History Department of Southern Illinois University. Dr. Beyer was a founder and the first president of the Southern Illinois Historical Society. Scerial Thompson is now head of the organization.



Officers of the Stark County Historical Society are: W. C. Auble, president; Harry W. Walker, vice-president; Annie Lowman, secretary; Rena Baker, treasurer. The directors include: Carl H. Lehman, H. W. Walker, James M. Armstrong, W. C. Auble, Ednah McClenahan, Mrs. Mary H. Grieve, Annie Lowman, Earl O. Turner, and Robert Webster, Sr. Mrs. Harriett Nicholson is custodian.



The Vermilion County Historical Society, founded originally in 1872, has been reorganized. Officers of the organization now are: Joseph H. Barnhart, president; Frank E. Butcher, vice-president; Stephen Adams, secretary-treasurer; and Harry Webber, librarian.



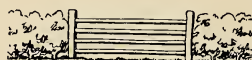
The Wilmette Historical Commission held its first "Wilmette Charter Day" observance on September 18. This celebration, held in the Woman's Club of Wilmette, was attended by over 800 people. Displays of works of art, photographs, and valuable heirlooms were part of the celebration. More than fifty Wilmette and North Shore artists contributed their works.

A pamphlet by Herbert B. Mulford, *Little Journeys to Historical Wilmette*, also has been published and is to be used as an outline for a study and discussion course in local history under the auspices of the Wilmette Public Library.

Officers of the Winnetka Historical Society are: Mary S. King, president; Rowland Weir, vice-president; Mrs. H. A. Orvis, secretary; Robert N. Bayless, treasurer. New directors include Mrs. Frederick Dickinson and Robert S. Burrows.

The Society sponsored its fourth annual auto trip on October 15. This year the journey was to the Rock River Valley.

At the meeting on November 2, Mrs. Harry T. Booth spoke on "Old Days in Winnetka and Vicinity." Following her talk there were refreshments and square dancing.



FAMILY HISTORIES

The Illinois State Historical Library is grateful to its many friends who have donated family histories in recent months. Since many of the Library's patrons are interested in genealogy, these books are especially welcome. In appreciation of these gifts, we are again listing the names of those who have presented us with genealogies within the past twelve months.

Albert D. Bell, Rockland, Ohio, for Bell, "Hollis Notes, 1639-1948, from Public and Private Records in the States of Maryland and Delaware" (mimeographed).

Willis Arnold Boughton, Ft. Lauderdale, Florida, for Boughton, *Arnold, Redway, and Earle Families*, and Boughton, *Bouton, Boughton, and Farnam Families*.

Alva Bradley, 2d, Cleveland, Ohio, for Rideout, *Ancestors and Descendants of Morris A. Bradley*.

John M. Bullard, New Bedford, Massachusetts, for Bullard, *The Rotches*.

Mrs. Philip D. Bunce, Minneapolis, Minnesota, for Bunce, *Some of the Ancestors of the Reverend John Selby Frame and His Wife Clara Winchester Dana*.

Walter Q. Bunderman, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, for Bunderman, *Flory, Flora, Fleury, Family History*, 1948.

Mrs. D. S. Coggins, Hopedale, Illinois, for Pugh, *Capon Valley, Its Pioneers and Their Descendants, 1698 to 1940*.

Noah Webster Cooper, Nashville, Tennessee, for Cooper, *Sketch of Noab B. Cooper and Wife Lucinda Jenerette*.

J. L. Coopridier, Evansville, Indiana, for Coopridier, *Harbaugh History; A Directory, Genealogy and Source Book*.

Clyde Henry Corbett, Canton, Ohio, for Corbett, *Genealogy of the Descendants of Robert Corbett*.

- Henry Bedinger Davenport, Jr., Charleston, West Virginia, for Davenport, *Genealogy of the Davenport Family*.
- Hazel Esther Drake, Rippey, Iowa, for Drake, *Ancestors and Descendants of Dennis Drake, Russell, Iowa, and Drake, A Branch of the Root Family*.
- N. W. Draper, Mt. Vernon, Illinois, for Kelley, *Record of Carter Jerrel Kelley Commenced in A. D., 1854*.
- Mrs. Cora A. Du Laney, Odenton, Missouri, for Du Laney, *The Andersons from the Great Fork of the Patuxent*.
- Thomas A. Enloe, Falls Church, Virginia, for Enloe, *Enloe—Enlow—Inlow Genealogy*.
- Mrs. Nellie B. Fellows, Lodi, Wisconsin, for Fellows, *History of Bartholomew Family*.
- William U. Halbert, Belleville, Illinois, for Waddell, *Joel Halbert and His Descendants*.
- Nathaniel C. Hale, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, for Hale, *Roots in Virginia; An Account of Captain Thomas Hale*.
- Mrs. Frederick C. Harrington, St. Louis, Missouri, for Harrington, *A History of the Messenger Family, Volume 2*.
- Herbert Howe, Mt. Kisco, New York, for Howe, *Yorkshire to Westchester, a Chronicle of the Wood Family*.
- Frederick M. Hutchinson, Houston, Texas, for Hutchinson, *The Hutchinson Family*.
- Gordon Ireland, Mt. Ranier, Maryland, for Ireland, *The Balestiers of Beechwood*.
- Wayne Van Leer Jones, Houston, Texas, for Jones, "Docker Family of Shawneetown, Illinois" (chart, photostat).
- Laurence Prescott Keith, Chicago, for Keith, *The John Roney Family of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. . . .*
- Ezra McFall Kuhns, Dayton, Ohio, for Kuhns, *Wogaman, Burkett, Holdery*.
- Robert A. Love, Arlington, Virginia, for Love, *The Story of James McBride, of Whitehall, Illinois, a Greene County Pioneer*.
- Massachusetts Historical Society (for Robert and Frederic Winthrop), for Mayo, *The Winthrop Family in America*.
- Charles Joseph Maxwell, Dallas, Texas, for Maxwell, *Descendants of Gregory Bonnifield (1726-1794), and Descendants of John Minear (1732?-1781)*.
- W. L. L. Peltz, Albany, New York, for Peltz, *Peltz Record, Rev. Philip Peltz, D. D., Reformed Protestant Dutch Church*.

- Mrs. Charles S. Pillsbury, Wayzata, Minnesota, for Holman, *Ancestry of Colonel John Harrington Stevens and His Wife, Frances Helen Miller*.
- Mrs. Edith Chandler Rollow, Provo, Utah, for Chandler, *The Descendants of Roger Chandler of Concord, Mass, 1658*.
- Walter R. Sanders, Litchfield, Illinois, for Sanders, "Genealogy of the Potter-Wilson-Fellows-Elliott Families," and Sanders, "Smyth Tandy, 1741-1823, Virginia Gentleman & Kentucky Pioneer" (mimeographed).
- Standard Printing Company, Louisville, Kentucky, for McQuiston, *The McQuiston, McCuiston and McQuesten Families, 1620-1937*.
- Mrs. Harriet Ford Torrey, Sacramento, California, for Torrey, *Just Between Ourselves. A Book of Recollections of my Father, James Ford*.
- Albert Willis Tressler, Jacksonport, Wisconsin, for Tressler, *Jonathan and Joseph Tressler and their Descendants*.
- Mrs. I. P. Trotter, Elkton, Kentucky, for Trotter, *Trotter Genealogy, the Virginia-Tennessee-Mississippi Trotter Line 1725-1948*.
- William Penn Vail, Blairstown, New Jersey, for Vail, *Moses Vail of Huntington, L. I., Showing his Descent from Joseph (2) Vail, Son of Thomas Vail at Salem, Massachusetts, 1640. . .*
- Mrs. H. B. Yamagata, Fanwood, New Jersey, for Dakin, *Descendants of Thomas Dakin, of Concord, Mass.*



MEMBERSHIP GAINS CONTINUE

The third quarter of 1949 marked a continuation of the Illinois State Historical Society's membership gains shown in the first half-year when 671 new names were added to the rolls. Following are the 331 who joined during July, August, and September:

ANNUAL MEMBERS

Abbott, Mrs. George Andrews..	Oak Park	Baker, Frances	Golconda
Adams, Varian B.....	Chicago	Baker, Hundley B.....	Springfield
Ahlquist, Mrs. Elizabeth....	Jacksonville	Ballinger, Floyd L.....	Springfield
Allegretti, Francis B.....	Elburn	Bannister, Dr. Turpin C.....	Urbana
Ashtown, Mrs. Arnold.....	McNabb	Barker, Dr. R. A.....	Alton
		Barnstable, C. W.....	Nokomis
Baer, Mrs. J. W.....	Evanston	Bath, Gomer	Peoria
Bailey, Frances	Jacksonville	Bedinger, Dr. Paul L.....	Evanston
Baker, Dorothy E.....	Cicero	Bergstrom, Clarence N.....	Chicago
Baker, Elmer J., Jr.....	Winnetka	Berriman, George	Springfield

Birdsall, Mrs. Carl A. Chicago
 Blaine, Anne Chicago
 Blakely, Margaret Riverside
 Blane, Mrs. Frank E. Petersburg
 Blood, Mrs. Wallace W. Oak Park
 Bonhajo, Louis Glencoe
 Bouton, Mrs. Guy Princeville
 Bradley, Theodore Murphysboro
 Brady, Loyd Naperville
 Brainerd, George S. Mundelein
 Brainerd, H. P. Waterman
 Brantingham, Mrs. Alan. Bloomington
 Brewster, Marie E. Chicago
 Bridgford, Lyle C. Joy
 Briggs, Mrs. William D. Chicago
 Buchbinder, Mrs. Hazel. Chicago
 Buckley, Leland H. Edwardsville
 Burdick, Orson B. Kankakee
 Burkhalter, Claudia E. Peoria
 Burnett, Mrs. Fred. Waverly
 Burnett, Olive Waverly
 Burr, Mrs. W. B. Hinsdale
 Byloff, Dr. Forrest G. Kewanee

Cain, T. R. Jacksonville
 Cain, Willard E. Wheaton
 Calhoun, Mrs. Leslie D. Farmer City
 Cantrall, Evans Springfield
 Carey, Mrs. A. B. Pittsfield
 Carlson, Dr. Magnolia M. East St. Louis
 Carter, Mary Dea. Danville
 Case, Leland D. Chicago
 Castle, Mrs. S. L. Geneva
 Christgau, Ferdinand G. Chicago
 Clifton, John and Robert. Milford
 Climo, Elizabeth Peru
 Coay, Mrs. Helen. Decatur
 Cohen, Samuel Theodore. Chicago
 Cole, Mrs. Bert. Jacksonville
 Congdon, Mrs. Winifred. Des Plaines
 Cooper, B. O. Springfield
 Coultas, Mrs. O. F. Jacksonville
 Cox, Mrs. Earl. Perrysville, Ind.
 Cox, Paul W. Elmhurst
 Crane, Howard G. Chicago
 Crigler, E. M. Webster Groves, Mo.
 Crossland, Mrs. Marie Nagl. Chicago
 Croxton, F. Eastman. Mt. Sterling
 Cullin, Victor Winnetka
 Curtis, Robert R. Carbondale

Dalrymple, Clifford L. Chicago
 Davis, George M. Decatur
 Deatherage, Mattie Waverly
 DeBoice, Judge Benjamin S. Springfield
 DeMotte, Amy Jacksonville
 Derr, Charles I. Decatur
 Dick, Edison Lake Forest
 Dunlap, Olivia Jacksonville

Eckert, Floyd E. Woodstock
 Eldridge, Mrs. N. M. St. Elmo
 Ensel, Lee Springfield
 Enz, Fred Carrier Mills
 Epple, Louis R. Chicago
 Ettinger, Cecil R. Nauvoo
 Ewert, Mrs. Arthur. Jacksonville
 Ewert, Dr. Arthur E. Jacksonville
 Eyestone, Lura M. Normal

Fairbank, Arthur D. Jacksonville
 Ferris, Mrs. Richard K. Kankakee
 Finn, Ann L. Chicago
 Fisher, Cynthia Springfield
 Fisher, George M. Chicago
 Fisher, Mrs. Guy H. Urbana
 Fishwick, Harry Springfield
 Flake, Mrs. J. C. Evanston
 Flasch, Lolita Chicago
 Fletcher, Prof. Harris F. Urbana
 Ford, Mrs. J. R. East St. Louis
 Franklin, Mrs. Walter D. Quincy
 Frazier, Mrs. Clifton W. Peoria
 Fredericks, J. L. Springfield
 Frey, Mary C. Chicago
 Friberg, H. W. Chicago
 Fuller, Morris G. Bloomington
 Funk, Mrs. H. E. Waverly
 Funk, Yale F. Springfield

Gardner, L. Max. Springfield
 Geiman, Louis H. Chicago
 Gentry, J. Wes. Carterville
 Gibson, James B. Geneseo
 Gill, John Wesley, II. Elizabeth
 Gillham, Ralph Jacksonville
 Gillham, Mrs. Ralph. Jacksonville
 Grassel, Ernest A. Peoria
 Grometer, Mrs. Carl. Aurora
 Grover, Dr. Jerry G. Kenilworth
 Guest, R. Albert. Springfield
 Gugler, Hans H. Wheaton
 Gurler, Beatrice DeKalb
 Guyot, Roy R. Noble

Hageman, Lucille Waverly
 Hallock, Dr. L. K. Jacksonville
 Hallock, Mrs. L. K. Jacksonville
 Hanson, Mrs. M. W. Havana
 Hardin, Ruth Springfield
 Hawkins, Russell Springfield
 Hawks, Mrs. J. D. McNabb
 Heap, Otto D. Grafton
 Heino, Mrs. Albert F. Chicago
 Henrichs, Maud Litchfield
 Hepburn, Gordon Chicago
 Herr, Theodore A. Chicago
 Herrick, Cheesman A. Philadelphia, Pa.
 Hertz, Gilbert G. Kankakee

Sandman, Charles Jacksonville
 Sawyer, Mrs. Celia Lincoln.....Decatur
 Saylor, Mrs. Kathrine L.....Pittsfield
 Scatliff, Dr. H. Kenneth.....Evanston
 Schiesser, Mrs. Charles W.....Chicago
 Schmitz, Floyd J.....Oglesby
 Schwartz, Charles K.....Chicago
 Scribbins, Mrs. John A.....Galesburg
 Sealock, Mrs. B. H.....Tallula
 Sedlak, FrankSpringfield
 Seyfarth, Karl Edwin.....Chicago
 Shanahan, Thomas, Jr.....Chicago
 Shirley, Henry W.....White Hall
 Shriver, Mrs. Kent.....La Harpe
 Sihler, Mrs. George A., Jr.....Litchfield
 Sinclair, Mr. and Mrs. Harold.....
Bloomington
 Sisk, Mrs. Bonnie.....Junction
 Skinner, Mrs. Ruth.....Princeton
 Small, Mrs. Ralph L.....Chicago
 Smith, Mrs. Basil B.....Kennewick, Wash.
 Smith, Mrs. Helen W.....La Harpe
 Smith, Roy L.....Chicago
 Sneller, Dr. Charles D.....Peoria
 Snider, ShirleyMulkeytown
 Snyder, Mrs. V. Dale.....Bethany
 Solomon, Mrs. Robert C.....Springfield
 Souders, NeilSpringfield
 Spitzer, Mrs. S.....Evanston
 Starke, Aubrey H.....Washington, D.C.
 Starke, Earle P.....Chicago
 Stein, Mrs. Henry B.....Champaign
 Stenberg, Mrs. George.....Thornton
 Stephens, William C.....Centralia
 Stephenson, Mrs. C. A.....Bloomington
 Stewart, Mrs. Hugh A.....Normal
 Strand, Ruth H.....Elmhurst
 Stricker, Alvina S.....Granite City
 Stroud, RuthNormal
 Stuckey, BarbaraMonroe Center
 Sundell, Mrs. Ernest W.....Highland Park
 Swanson, David I.....Chicago

 Tarr, Mrs. William W.....Chicago
 Taylor, B. H.....Canton
 Taylor, Mr. and Mrs. E. G.....Kewanee
 Teckemeyer, Mrs. A. D.....Geneva
 Temple, Wayne C.....Urbana
 Tench, Marvin E.....Chicago

Terpening, Mrs. Richard E.....Monmouth
 Thomas, James R.....Forest Park
 Thomas, Mrs. Walter E.....Carrollton
 Thompson, Mrs. L. M.....Palestine
 Thompson, Rev. Loyal M.....Kewanee
 Tyson, RussellChicago

Vallette, Mr. and Mrs. Julian.....
Edwardsville
 Van Cleve, C. M.....Olney
 Vandercook, Mrs. F. I.....Glen Ellyn
 Van Valkenburgh, Mr. and Mrs. J. M.
Chicago
 Vasconcellos, GeorgeJacksonville
 Vollenweider, Mrs. Lulu.....Tonica

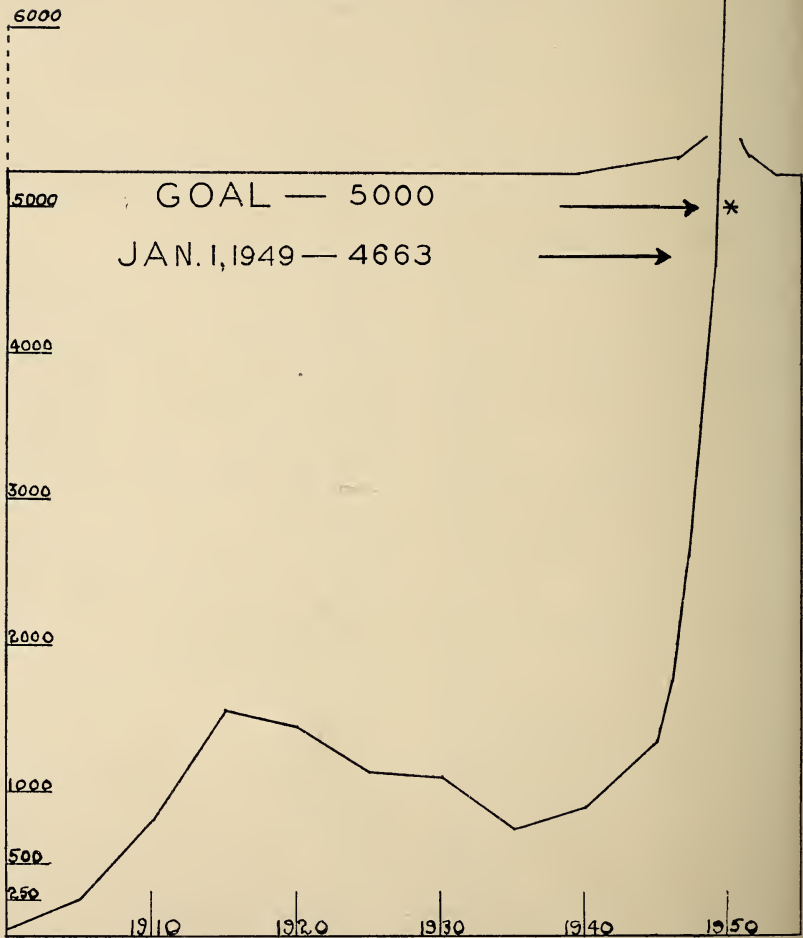
Wagenman, Ira M.....Chicago
 Waggoner, Esther E.....Alton
 Walker, Judge Frank H.....Mt. Vernon
 Walker, W. H.....East St. Louis
 Wallace, Florence V.....Chicago Heights
 Waller, Ellis J.....Kewanee
 Wamnes, Mrs. Jack.....Burlington, Wis.
 Ward, RosemaryMoline
 Warren, Mrs. C. Boynton.....Springfield
 Wattling, EddieSpringfield
 Welch, Mrs. Helen E.....Waverly
 West, Mrs. Germaine Allard.....Decatur
 West, R. A.....Decatur
 Wheeler, Ruth Louisa.....Chicago
 White, MiloSpringfield
 Whitefort, Mrs. A. R.....St. Elmo
 Whiteside, Charles B.....St. Elmo
 Wiederhold, Mrs. George.....Shawneetown
 Wiiki, Mary.....Chicago
 Wilkinson, Mrs. Porter A.....Bethany
 Williams, Curtis.....Mt. Vernon
 Williams, Maude.....Mt. Vernon
 Wilson, Ervin F.....Elmhurst
 Wise, Mrs. Glenn V.....Lanark
 Wisehart, Mrs. Joe.....Shawneetown
 Withee, MabelJacksonville
 Wood, Mrs. Charles J.....Chicago
 Wood, T. T.....Springfield
 Worsham, Walter B.....Springfield

Young, Mrs. Charles William.....
Vero Beach, Fla.
 Young, Mrs. William G.....Shipman



MEMBERSHIP FAR ABOVE 1949 GOAL

NOV. 1, 1949 — 6750



When this graph was originally published in the March, 1949, issue of the *Journal* the Fiftieth Anniversary membership goal of the Illinois State Historical Society was 5,000. This proved a very modest figure as the rush to join sent the line out through the top of the chart. The November 1, membership of 6,750 is composed of 4,323 adult members and 2,427 Junior members, which compares with 3,216 and 1,447 respectively for January 1.

This is an increase of 44 per cent for the first ten months of the year. (Note the October 1, figures in the Secretary's report on page 490.)

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